A RELATION OF THE STATE OF *Religion: and with what Hopes and* Pollicies it hath beene framed, and is main= *tained in the ſeverall States of theſe Weſterne* partes of the world.

BIBL CANT. ACAD.

LONDON
Printed by Val. Sims for Simon *Waterſon dwelling in Paules* Churchyard at the ſigne of the *Crowne.* 1605.

1834:01

A RELATION OF THE State of Religion, and with what *Hopes and Policies it hath beene* framed and is maintained in the ſeverall ſtates of theſe Weſterne *parts of the World.*

HAving now almoſt finiſhed my intended courſe of travell, and comming to caſt vp (as it were) the ſhort account of my labours, I ſhall here endeauor breefly to relate what I haue obſerued in the matter of Religion, my time beeing cheefly imployed (as was from the firſt my principall deſigne) in viewing the ſtate thereof in theſe Weſterne parts of the world, their divided factions and profeſſions, their differences in matters of faith, and their exerciſes of Religion in government Eccleſiaſticall, and in life and converſation, what vertues in each king eminent, what eminent

defects. Moreover, in what termes of oppoſition, or correſpondencie each ſtandeth with other, what probabilities, what policies, what hopes, what iealouſies are found for the advauncing thereof: and finally, what poſſibilities and good meanes of vniting, at leaſt the ſeverall braunches of the reformed profeſſours, if vnitie vniverſall bee more to bee deſired then hoped in ſuch bitterneſſe of minde, and equalitie of forces as leaveth on neither ſide, either diſpoſition to yeeld, or doubt to be vanquiſhed.

In the midſt of theſe thoughts, not intending to deliver a full report of all theſe points, which would too much exceede a reaſonable proportion, but reſtraining my ſelfe chiefly to ſuch parts and places as may ſeem moſt neceſſarie for one of my Countrey to know.

1 FIrſt, of the Roman Religion, framed in thoſe middle times when there was no man to controll them, did light in the handling of ſuch men as made their greatneſſe, wealth, and honor, the verie rule to ſquare out the Canons of faith, and then did ſet Clearks on worke to deviſe Arguments to mainteine them.

2 This Religion ſeemeth notwithſtanding at this day, not ſo corrupt in the very doctrine (and in their Schooles, where yet manifolde oppoſitions doe holde them in awe, and hath cauſed them to refine it) as it is in the practiſe thereof, and in the vſage among themſelves, wherein they are ſo groſſe as that ſundry men whom the reading of their Bookes hath allured, the view of their Churches hath averted from their partie.

3 I muſt omit an endleſſe multitude of their ſuperſtitions and ceremonies, for they are enough to take vp a great part of a mans life to peruſe, beeing without vniformitie, and different in diverſe Countreys, and withall ſo childiſh and vnſavourie, that as they argue ſeelineſſe and rawneſſe in their inventers, ſo can they bring no other then diſgrace and contempt to thoſe exerciſes

of Religion wherein they are ſtirring.

4 How they communicate divine honour to Saints and Angels, by building Churches, erecting Altars, commending prayers, and addreſſing vowes vnto them, in worſhipping their Images, going in pilgrimage to their Reliques, attributing all kind of myracles both to the one and the other, I will in this place reſtraine my ſelfe eſpecially to *Italie*, where it hath wrought this generall effect, that men have more affiaunce, and aſſume vnto themſelves a greater conceit of comfort in the patronage of the creatures and ſervants of God, then of God himſelfe, the Prince & creator. And touching the bleſſed virgin, the caſe is cleare, that howſoever their doctrine be in ſchooles otherwiſe, yet in all maner of outward Actions, the honour which they do her, is double, for the moſt part, vnto that which they doe our Savior: where one profeſſeth himſelfe a *devoto* or peculiar ſervant to our Lord, whole Townes ſometimes, as *Vienna*, &c. are the *Devoti* of our Ladie. The ſtatelieſt and faireſt Altars are hers, for the moſt part, where one prayeth before the Crucifixe, two pray before her Images, where one vowe vnto Chriſt, tenne vowe vnto her, and not ſo much to herſelfe, as to ſome particular Image of hers, which for ſome notable power and grace of operation of miracles they chiefly ſerve, as the glorious Ladie of *Loretto*: the devoute Ladie of *Rome*: the myraculous Ladie of *Prouenſano*: the *Annunciata* of *Florence*, all whoſe Churches are ſo ſtuffed with vowed preſents and memories, as they are faine to hang their Cloiſters and Churchyards with them. And ſuch as their vowes are, ſuch are their Pilgrimages; and to nouriſh this honour, for one miracle reported to be wrought by the Crucifixe, not ſo few perhaps as one hundred are voiced vppon thoſe other Images, neither will I omit this no leſſe certaine, though leſſe apparant, that where one faſteth on Friday, which they account our Lords day, many faſt on Saturday which they account our Ladies day, in honour to her. In all which the

people

people do but folow their guides, who, as in the meaſuring of their devotion by tale on beades, doe ſtring vp tenne ſalutations to our Lady, for one of our Lords prayer. So themſelves alſo in their ſermons, make their entrance with an *Ave Maria*, yea a ſolemn divine honor which they have, moſt commendable, if it were well vſed: that at Sun riſing, noone, and Sunne ſetting, vpon the ringing of a bell, all men, in what place ſoever, houſe, fielde, ſtreete, or market, doe preſently kneele downe, and ſend vp their vnited devotions to heaven. This honour is by them chiefly intended to our Lady, the devotion is the Ave Maria, and the bell that ringeth to it, hath alſo that name. They teach in pulpit, that nothing paſſeth in heaven without her expreſſe conſent. That the ſtile of that court, is, *Placet Domino*, that matters of Iuſtice come properly from Chriſt, and matters of Grace from her, that it was the viſion of a holy man. That certaine that ſhould have beene condemned by Chriſt, in regard they were her ſervants, have been abſolved by her interceſſion. So the principall ſtreames of affiance and love, are diverted from him, and turned vpon thoſe vnto whom ſo great honour is not due, nor ſo vndue honour can be acceptable.

5 Their Liturgies being not vnderſtoode by the people, are not able to hold them occupied with any ſpirituall contemplation: for ſupply whereof, they hold them to their charming with their beades in the meane ſeaſon, which being ſo vnſavory a foode as it is, they vſe it accordingly: when they are weary of it, they entertaine the reſt of their time with talke and mirth, which their Prieſtes themſelves alſo at their leiſures forbeare not, not forgetting yet at certaine pauſes to ſhew devotion, wherein their outward ieſſures are decent, reverent, and ſignificant. And this honour is to be yeelded to the Italian nation, that hee is naturally not vndevote, were his devotion duely guided and cheriſhed, and not ſtarved and quenched in the darke miſt of a language, where hee neyther vnder-

ſtands

ſtands what is ſaide to him, nor yet what himſelfe ſayeth.

6 The beſt part of their exerciſes of Religion, are their ſermons, wherein much matter, both of faith and pietie is eloquently delivered, by men ſurely of wonderfull zeale and ſpirite, if their interior fervor were correſpondent to their outward fervencie; howbeit they are ſomtimes mingled with ſo palpable vanity (as beſides their other poverties, as forced allegories, and vnnaturall interpretations, wherin they are fervent,) they have legends of Saints, and tales (at which children with vs would ſmile) ſolemnly hiſtorized in their Cathedrall pulpits; yet what religiouſneſſe ſoever is in the peoples mindes, may wholy be attributed to their ſermons, whither the better diſpoſed people doe reſort.

This one thing I cannot but highly commend in that ſort and order: they ſpare nothing, which either coſt can performe in inriching, or skill in adorning the Temple of God, or to ſet out his ſervice with the greateſt pompe and magnificence that can be deviſed. And although, for the moſt part, much baſeneſſe and childiſhneſſe is predominant in the maiſters and contrivers of their ceremonies, yet this outward ſtate and glory being well diſpoſed, doth ingender, quicken, increaſe, and nouriſh, the inward reverence, reſpect, and devotion which is due vnto ſoveraigne maieſty and power. And therefore, howſoever ſome will not be perſwaded in it, yet in the zeale of the common Lord of all, I chuſe rather to commend the vertue of an enemy, then to flatter the vice and imbecillity of a friend.

7 But to returne to the Church of *Rome*, and to come to the conſideration of their penance and confeſſion, out of which, ſo great good is promiſed to the world, and the want thereof ſo much vpbraided to their oppoſites. I muſt confeſſe I brought with me this perſwaſion and expectation, that ſurely in this muſt needes bee a very great

reſtraint to wickednesse, a great meanes to bring men to integrity and perfection, when a man ſhall daily as it were ſurvey his actions, cenſure with greefe, confeſſe with ſhame, cure by counſell, expiat with puniſhment, extinguiſh with firme intent, never to returne to the like againe; whatſoever had defiled or ſtained the ſoule, (neither doubt I but it had this fruit in the firſt inſtitutions, and hath alſo with many at this day, yea and might perhaps have beene reſtored better in reformed Churches, to their primative ſincerity, then vtterly aboliſhed, as in moſt places it is:) Notwithſtanding, having diligently ſearched into the meaning thereof in thoſe parts, I finde, that as all things whereof humane imbecillity hath the cuſtody and gouernement, fall away, decaying by inſenſible degrees, from their firſt perfection and puritie, and gather much ſoile and droſſe in vſing: ſo this as much as any thing. For this point of their religion, which in outward ſhew carrieth a face of ſeveritie and diſcipline, is become of all others, the moſt remiſſe and pleaſant; and of the greateſt content to the deſoluteſt mindes, the matter being growne with the common ſort to this open reckoning; what needs wee refraine ſo fearefully from ſinne, God having provided ſo ready a meanes to be rid of it when wee liſt? yea, and the worſer ſort will ſay; When we have ſinned, we muſt confeſſe, and when we have confeſſed, we muſt ſinne againe, that we may alſo confeſſe againe, and with all, make worke for new indulgences and iubilies; making account of confeſſion, as drunkards doe of vomiting: yea, I have knowne of thoſe that carried ſhew of very devoute perſons, who by their owne report, to excuſe their acquaintance in matters criminall, have wittingly periured themſelves in iudgement, onely preſuming of this preſent and eaſie remedie of confeſſion, and others, of more ordinary note amongſt them, who when their time of confeſſing was at hand, would then venture on thoſe actions which before they trembled at, as preſuming to ſurfet, by reaſon of the neighborhood

borhood of the Phiſitian, which Phiſitian alſo himſelfe is perhaps more apparantly infected with the noyſome diſeaſes his patient diſcloſeth, then the patient, who is not any way bettered by the counſell which the Phiſitian giveth.

But this muſt bee graunted to be the fault of the people, yet a generall fault is it, and currant without controlement; howbeit, neither are the Prieſtes, nor the people to be more excuſed on their parts. The Prieſts will tell the penitent, that God is mercifull, that whatſoever ſinnes the penitent committeth, ſo long as hee continueth in the Church, and is not a Lutheran, there is good remedie for him.

And for Penance, it conſiſteth ordinarily but in Avemaries and Paternoſters, with Almes-deedes by thoſe that are able, and faſtings by them that are willing; yea, I have knowne, when the penance for horrible and open blaſphemy, beſides much other lewdeneſſe hath beene no other, then ſaying of their Beades thrice over, a matter of ſome houres muttering; and which in *Italy*, they diſpatch alſo as they goe in the ſtreetes, or as they ride, or doe their buſineſſe at home, making no other of it, then as it is, two lippes, and one fingers worke. But were the penãce by the prieſts enioyned, never ſo hard & ſharp, the Popes plenary pardons ſweepe all away at a blow: Now of theſe they have granted (and this man eſpecially) ſo huge a number, as that there are few Churches of note in *Italy*, which have not purchaſed or procured a perpetuall indulgence, by vertue whereof, whoſoever ſhall at certaine ſet yearely daies, being confeſſed, and having communicated, or as in ſome pardons having but onely an intent to confeſſe and communicate in time convenient, powreth out his devotions before ſome Altar in that Church, and extendeth forth his hands in almes in behalfe thereof, (which clauſe in all former graunts was expreſſed, but is now left out for avoiding offẽdale, but is ſtill vnder-

ſtood and practiſed accordingly) hath forthwith remiſſion of all ſinne and puniſhment; yea, if the worſt fall out, that a man be ſo negligent as to droppe into Purgatory at the time of his deceaſe, which but by very ſupine negligence can hardly happen; yet few Cities are there, wherein there are not one or two Altars priviledged, *Pro defunctis*, where for every Maſſe ſaide, a ſoule is delivered; and ſo a great multitude of Artiſons muſt needes make their ware cheape. I will not heere warble long vpon this vntuneable harſh ſtring, neither will mention perhaps the fourth part of that I have ſeene, much leſſe rake old ruſty ſtuffe out of the dead duſt and darkeneſſe, wherein time and ſhame hath ſuffered it to reſt: only for example ſake, and for verifying what I have ſaide, I will ſet downe ſome of that which is nowe in vſe at this day, which is printed on their Church doores, and proclaymed in their Pulpittes.

8 In the Ermitanes at *Padoa*, their Preachers publiſh pardon of plenarie indulgence from Baptiſme, to the laſt confeſſion, with eight and twentie thouſand yeares over for the time enſuing. The pardon of *Alexander* the ſixt for thirtie thouſand yeares; to whome ſoever before the Altar of our Lady, with Chriſt and her Mother, ſhall ſay a peculiar *Ave Marie*. At the Sepulchre of Chriſt in *Venice*, is a ſtately preſentation, whereon is written, *Hic ſutum eſt corpus Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti*; (yet inferring no reall preſence there as I take it) with verſes annexed of, *Conditur hoc tumulo, &c.* There is hanged in a printed Table, a praier of Saint *Auguſtines*, a very good one indeede, with indulgence for fourſcore and two thouſand yeeres, granted from *Boniface* the eight, and confirmed by *Benedict* the 11. to whoſoever ſhal ſay it, and that for every day *toties quoties, &c.* (which is ſomwhat worth) that in a few daies a man may provide for a million of worlds, if they did laſt no longer then this did in Saint *Francis* Church. At *Padoa* I heard a reverend Father preach

preach at large the holy history of the divine pardon of *Sisa ab omni culpa & pœna*, graunted by Christ in person at our Ladies sute, vnto Saint *Francis*, extending to all such, as having confessed and communicated, should pray in Saint *Frances* Church there, yet sending him to his Vicar Pope *Honorius* that then was to passe it, with manie other reapparitions and delectable strange accidents of great content to pleasant minded hearers, which pardon is since enlarged by *Sextus* the fourth, and fifth (which both were *Franciscans*) to all lay brethren and sisters that did weare Saint *Francis* Cordon, in what place soever. *Gregorie* the thirteenth hath granted to the Carmine at *Scienna*, for everie Masse said there at the Altar of the Crucifixe, the deliverie of a soule out of Purgatorie, to the Carmine at *Padua* more liberally, for to every one that shall say seven *Aues*, and seven *Pater nosters*, before one of their Altars on the Wednesday in Easter weeke, or kisse the ground before the Altar of the blessed Sacrament with the vsuall prayers for the exaltation of the Church, extirpation of heresie, and vnitie of Christian Princes, plenarie Indulgence for himselfe, and the deliverie of what soule out of Purgatorie hee pleaseth. To the fraternitie of the Altar of the Conception of our Ladie in *Duomo*, or the Cathedrall Church in *Padua*, confessing and communicating at their entrie into that societie, full remission of their sinnes at the houre of their death, naming but Iesus with their mouth, or if they can not, with their heart: the like is ordinarily graunted to all other Fraternities. To everie Priest as often as he shall say five printed lines, importing that he will offer vp the precious bodie of our Saviour, so many fifte yeares pardon. By this Pope, this one amongst many others innumerable to the Friers, and lay Fraternities of both sexes of the Carmine in *Scienna* for everie time that they are present at their solemne Processions, plenarie Indulgence for al their sins past & 40. yeres & 7. daies over, to some for to come, and this for ever, with extent of like

grace to all other, that by their presence shall honour those processions, but to last no longer then till the yeare of Iubile. Now besides these and infinite other of this stile, there are indulgences more free, and lesse restrained then for time, place, or dutie, to give them by graunt from Pope *Iohn* the twentieth, everie inclining of the head at the name of Iesus, getteth twentie yeares pardon, a matter in *Italie*, no not at this time vnpractised. And to grace that ceremonie the more, I have heard sundry of their renowmed Divines teach in Pulpet, that Christ himselfe on the Crosse bowed his head, all Altars of station, which are in very great number, have their certaine perpetuall Indulgences indifferent for all times, sundrie Crosses graven in Pavements of their Churches, have Indulgences annexed for everie time they are kissed, which is so often by the devouter sexe, that hard Marble is worne with it. The third and fourth Masse (as they say) is a preservative and raunsome of his parents from Purgatorie, yea though they should be sung without any such intention, which causeth manie warie men which would be sure from Purgatorie, to make some one of their children a Priest alwayes. The saying of their Beades over, with a Medall or other trivelet of the Popes benediction appendant, getteth plenarie Indulgence and deliverie of what soule out of Purgatorie one pleaseth.

Their Conversation,

¶ For to speake also somewhat of their life and conversation, and as briefly as may be (being a theame I take verie small delight to handle) neither being of any great profite to be knowne sufficiently to all men, too much to some, who not content to spotte themselves with all Italian impuritie, proceede on to impoyson their Countrey also at their returne hither, that wee neede not marvaile if those rare villaines which our auncestours never dreamed of, do now grow frequent, and such men as they woulde have swept out of their Cities and streetes, as the noysome disgrace and dishonour of them, and confined to a Dungeon,

or

or other desolate habitation, doe vaunt themselves now, and with no meane applause, for the onely gallants and worthie spirits of the world.

But to touch so much of their lives as shall bee necessarie for this purpose, and rather the causes then the effects themselves, it is not to bee marvayled, if the glorie of their Religion, consisting most in outward shewe, and the exquisitenesse in the number of intricate dumbe Ceremonies, if their devotions being not seasoned with vnderstanding requisite, but prised more by tale then by weight of zeale, if as by the vertue of their Sacraments, of their actes of pietie, being placed more in the verie masse materialitie of the outwarde woorke, then in the puritie of the heart from which they proceede, it is not, I say, to be marvayled though the fruites also of their conversation bee like vnto those rootes, rather such as may yeelde some reasonable outwarde obedience to lawes, then approove that inward integritie and sinceritie of that fountaine from whence they issue. For although in their civill carriage one towardes another, they have especiall good vertues, well woorth the imitating, being a people, for the most part, of a grave and stayed behaviour, verie respective and curteous, not curious, or medling in other mens matters, besides that auncient frugalitie in their dyet, and all thinges not durable, which to their great ease and benefite they still retaine. And there be also amongest them, as in all other places, some men of excellent and rare perfection, yet can it not be dissembled, but that generally the whole Countrey is strongly overflowne and overcome with wickednesse, with filthinesse of speech, with beastlinesse of actions, both governors and subiects, both priests and friers, each striving (as it were) with other in impudencie therein, even so farre forth, that what in other places woulde not be tollerated, is there in high honour, what elsewhere even a lose person would be ashamed to cõmit, their priests and

and Friers refraine not openly to practiſe; yea, if any man forbeare the like, they finde it very ſtrange, and hold integrity for little better then ſeelines or abiectneſſe. I cannot heere forget the ſayings of an Italian Gentleman of verie good qualitie, but in faction, Spaniſh; at my firſt entry into *Italy*, that the Italians were excellent men, but for three faults they had in their luſts they were vnnaturall; in their malice vnappeaſable, and that they would deceive all men. Vnto which hee might truely have added; They ſpend more vpon other men, then vpon themſelves, they blaſpheme oftner then ſweare, and murther more then revile or ſlaunder: notwithſtanding, this teſtimony I yeelde, not onely willingly, but gladly to them: (for what ioy could it be to the heart of any man, to ſee men fall irrecoverably from the love and lawes of the Creator?) That at one time of the yeare, (namely at Lent,) they are much reformed, no ſuch blaſpheming or durty ſpeaking, their vanities of all ſorts reaſonably laid aſide, their pleaſures abandoned, their apparrell, their diet, and all things elſe compoſed to auſterity and ſtate of penance. They have daily their preaching, with collection of almes, whereto all men reſort: and to iudge of them by the outward ſhew, they ſeeme to have generally a great remorce of their wickednesſe, inſomuch, that I muſt confeſſe, I ſeemed to my ſelfe in *Italy*, to have learned the right vſe of Lent, there firſt to have diſcerned the right fruit of it, and the reaſon for which thoſe Sages at the firſt did inſtitute it; neither can I eaſily accord to the fancies of ſuch (as becauſe wee ought at all times to leade a life worthy of our profeſſion) thinke it therefore ſuperſtitious, to have one time wherein to exact or reſpect it more then another: But rather doe this conceive, that ſeeing the corruption of the times and wickednesſe of mans nature is now ſo exorcitant, that a hard matter it is, to hold the ordinary ſort of men at all times within the liſts of piety, iuſtice, and ſobriety: it is fit therefore that there ſhould be one time at the leaſt in the yeare, and that

of

of a reasonable countenance, wherein the season it selfe, the vse of the world, and practise of all men (for even the Iewes and Turkes have their Lent, though different) the commaundement of superiours, the prouision of fitte meanes to assist therein; and in some, the verie outwarde face and expectation as it were of all thinges, shoulde constraine men (howe wicked and retchlesse soever) for that time to recall themselves to some more severe cogitations and courses, lest sinne having no such Bridle to checke it at anie time, should at length waxe headstrong and vnconquerable in them; that on the other side being thus necessarily invred for a while, though to make a bare shewe of walking in the paths of vertue, they might afterwardes perhaps more sincerely, and willingly persist, or at leastwise returne more readily vnto them some other time. And verily I have sundrie times had this cogitation in *Italie*, that in great loosenesse of life, and decay of discipline in those partes, it was the speciall great mercie and grace of God, that the severitie of Lent should be still preserved, lest otherwise the flouds of sinne growing so headstrong, and outragious, and having no where, either bound or banke to restraine them; might plunge that whole Nation into such a gulfe of wickednesse, and bring them to that last extremitie, which should leave them neither hope for better, nor place for worse: yea and I was so farre from thinking the institution of Lent superfluous, or the restraint in it vnprofitable, that I rather inclined to like the custome of the Greeke Church, who besides their great Lent, have three other Lents also in the yeare, though the other neither so long, nor yet so strict a generall obseruation. Two things are further to bee added in the honour of *Italie*: Their Nunries seemed, for the most part, to be greatly reformed of that they have beene, and of that they still are in Fraunce, and other places, where their looseneſse of government, and often scandalles ensuing, dooth breed them a repu-

tation cleane contrarie to their profeſſion, and the reaſons whie the Monaſteries and Covent of Friers are not reformed: there is a feare that the Pope hath, that over-great ſeveritie woulde cauſe a great number to diſfrier themſelves, and flie to *Geneva*, vppon hope of more libertie, which hee eſteemeth an inconvenience, more to bee ſhunned, then the former miſchiefe. An other thing verie memorable, and to be imitated in *Italie*, is the exceeding good proviſions of Hoſpitals and houſes of pietie, for olde perſons enfeebled, for poore folkes maimed or diſeaſed, for Gentillitie impoveriſhed, for travellers diſtreſſed, for lewde women converted, for children abandoned, which the devotion of former times have founded and enriched, and this preſent age dooth verie faithfully and diſcreetly governe: and if it were not for thoſe houſes, in the number, goodlineſſe, and great revenewes, whereof *Italie* exceedeth anie one Countrey in the world, it might be ſaid to be poore and miſerable: for though it be incomparably the richeſt Nation in Chriſtendome at this day in all the Weſt partes, by reaſon of their long peace, and their neighbours long warres, yet conſidered that their wealth there, is ſo ill digeſted, and ſo vnequally divided in the bodie thereof, by the infiniteneſſe and ever ſucking veynes of their taxes and cuſtomes, carrying all their blood to the higher partes, and leaving the lower readie to faint, ſtarve, and wither. It is not vntruly ſayde, that the rich men of *Italie* are the richeſt, and the poore the pooreſt creatures, that anie one Countrey can yeelde agayne, both which in a well pollicied ſtate were to be avoyded. Beſides theſe Hoſpitalles, they have their houſes of free loane to the poore, which is ſome helpe, ſeeing *Italie* of all other places is moſt infected with Vſurie.

But now to come to the view of their Eccleſiaſticall government, how it is referred to the conduct of ſoules to their true happineſſe (which ſhould be the naturall and proper

proper end of that regiment, whereof I can say little,) and howe it is addressed to the vpholding of their worldly power, and glorie of their Order, to the advauncing of their part, and overthrow of their opposites, which I suppose to be the chiefe poynt they now respect; as I thinke it may be truly sayde, that there was never yet state framed by mans witte in the worlde, more powerfull and forcible to worke those effects, never anie more wisely contrived, and plotted, or more constantly and diligently put in practise and execution, that if the foundation be free from vntruth and dishonestie (for rottennesse of hart is an infirmitie which will ruine all strength builded thereon) their outward meanes were sufficient to subdue a whole world. Now as in every Art and Science there are some certaine propositions, vppon the vertue whereof all the rest depend; so in their Art also they have certaine assertions which as indemonstrable principles they vrge all to receive & hold in this maner 1. (that they are the church of God, within the which there is great facilitie, and without which there is no possibilitie of salvation. 2 That divine prerogative is granted vnto them above al the people in the world, which doth preserve them everlastingly from erring in matters of faith, and from falling from God. 3 That the Pope being Christs deputie, hath the keyes of heaven in custodie, to admit in by indulgence, and shut out by excommunication, as hee shall see cause. 4 That the charge of all soules being committed to him, he is thereby made soveraigne prince of this world, exceeding in power and maiesty all other princes, as farre as the soule in dignitie doth exceed the bodie, and eternal things surmount things temporal: and seeing the end is the ruler and commander of whatsoever doo tend vnto it, and all thinges in this world are to serve but as instruments; and the world it selfe but as a passage to our everlasting habitation. 5 That therfore he that hath the managing of this high honour to be the supreame conductor vnto it, hath also power to dispose

of all things ſubordinate as may beſt ſerve to it, to plant, to roote out, to eſtabliſh, to depoſe, to bind, to looſe, to alter, to diſperſe, as may ſerve moſt fitte for the advaunce-ment of the Church and for the atchieving of the ſoules felicitie, wherein whoſoever oppoſe againſt him, whether by Hereſie, or Schiſme, they are no other then verie Rebels, or ſeditious perſons, againſt whom he hath vnlimited and endleſſe power, to proceede to the ſuppreſſing, ruining, and extinguiſhing of them by all meanes, that the Com-mon-wealth of God may flouriſh in proſperitie, and the high way to heaven bee kept ſafe and open for all Gods loyall and obedient people. In theſe poynts no doubtes or queſtions are tollerable. And whoſo with them ioyne in theſe, ſhall find great connivence, in what other defect or difference ſoever: this being the very touchſtone by which all men are to be tried, whether they be in the Church, or out of the Church; whether with them, or againſt them: and by this plot have their wits erected in this worlde, a Monarchie more potent then ever any that have beene be-fore it: A Monarchie, which inſtilling them *(de iure)* to all the world, layeth a ſtrong foundation thereof in all mens conſciences, (the onelie firme ground of obedience in the worlde) and ſuch a foundation, as not onely holdeth faſt vnto them whatſoever it ſeazeth on, but worketh out-wardly alſo by engines, to weaken, and vndermine the ſtates of all other Princes howe great ſoever, and that in ſuch ſort, as by poſſeſſing themſelves of the principall places, the hearts of their Subiects (as being thoſe from whome they have their principall good, even the happi-neſſe of their ſoules) to incite vppon evetie conſcience a-gaynſt their naturall Soveraigne at pleaſure, and by a Writte of Excommunication to ſubdue, or at leaſtwiſe greatly to ſhake whom they liſt, without fighting a blowe, without levying a Souldier; and laſtly, a Monarchie which as it was founded by meere witte, needeth not anie thing but meere witte to maintayne it, which en-

richeth

richeth it selfe without labouring, warreth without endangering, rewardeth without spending, vsing Colledges to as great purpose, as others can fortresses, and working greater matters, partly by Schollers, partly by swarmes of Friars, than else they could ever do by great garrisons and armies. And all these maintained at other mens charges, for to that rare poynt have they also proceeded, as not only to have huge rents themselves out of other mens states, but to maintaine also their instruments out of other mens devotions, and to advaunce their favorites, vnder the faire pretence of providing for Religion, to the very principall preferments in forraine Princes dominions. That no man needs finde it strange, if finding the revenew of skill and cunning to be great, and their force mightie, especially what he worketh vpon simplicitie, and ignorance, they inclosed in times past all learning within the walls of their Cleargie, setting forth Ladie Ignorance for a great Saint to the Laitie, and shewing her vnto them for the true mother of Devotion. And assuredly, but for one great defect in their pollicie, which was hadde in regarde of their owne particular ambition, but otherwise not impossible to be avoided; That they choose their Pope lightly verie olde, and withall, without anie restraint of all Families and Nations, whereby they are continually subiect to double change of government: The Successor seldome prosecuting his Antecessors devices, but eyther crossing them through envy, or abandoning them vpon new humour, it could not have beene, but they must have long since been absolute Lordes of all: which defects notwithstanding (so strong was their pollicie by reason of the force of their Cardinall foundation:) That no Prince, or Potentate ever opposed against them, but in fine, even by his owne Subiects, they either maistered him, or vtterly brought him to good conformitie, by great losse and extreamitie, till such time as in his latter age the bottome of the foundation it selfe being slowly discovered, hath given them a

ſore blowe, hath chaunged in great parte the ſtate of the queſtion, and hath driven them to a re-inforcement of new inventions and practiſes.

New propoſitions.

12 Howbeit thoſe propoſitions beeing the ground of their ſtate, and the hope of their owne glorie, in them they admit no ſhadow of alteration, but indevour ſtill *per fas & nefas*, even by all the meanes in the worlde to ſtrengthen them, and (amongſt their manifold adverſaries) hate them moſt of all other, who have laboured moſt in ſtopping of that foundation. And ſeeing that by reaſon of this bookiſh age, they have not that helpe of ignorance which in times paſt they had, they caſt about greatly to ſoake and ſettle them in mens perſwaſions & conſciences by another way: They tell men, that the very ground whereon wee builde our perſwaſion of the trueth of chriſtianitie it ſelfe, are no other than credible: That the proofes of the Scripture to be the woord of GOD can be no other at this day than probable, onely beeing impoſſible for any witte in the worlde to produce or exact neceſſarie and infallible demonſtrations: Eyther that the holy Apoſtle Saint *Paule* had his calling from above, or that thoſe Epiſtles were of his writing, ſo likewiſe in the reſt, and that the chiefe proofe that we have therof, is the teſtimony of the church, a thing which their very adverſaries are forced to confeſſe. Now that this probable perſwaſion of the truth of Chriſtianitie doth afterward grow to an aſſuredneſſe thereof, this iſſueth from an inward operation of Gods divine ſpirit, the gift whereof is faith; and that faith being a knowledge, not of bare ſcience, but of beliefe, which ſearcheth not the particular neceſſitie of the veritie of things delivered, but relieth in generall vppon the approoved wiſedome, trueth and vertue of him that doth deliver it. Then ſurely, whoſoever will have neceſſarie proofe of the ſeverall Articles of his Religion, dooth but wittily deceive himſelfe, and by over-curious indevour to chaunge his faith into ſcience, dooth looſe that which he ſeeketh to perfect:

If

If then without faith there is no poſſibility of ſalvation, this ſurely muſt needes be the hieway to perdition. Now ſeeing chriſtianitie to be a doctrine of faith, a doctrine whereof all men, even children are capable, as being groſſe, and to be beleeved in generall: The high vertue whereof is in the humilitie of vnderſtanding, and the merite in the readines of obedience to imbrace it (for theſe have beene alwayes the true honours of faith.) And ſeeing the outward proofes are no other than probable, and of all probable proofes, the churches teſtimonie is moſt probable: what madneſſe were it for any man to tire out his ſoule, and to waſte away his ſpirites, in tracing out all the thorny paths of the controverſies of theſe dayes, wherein to erre is no leſſe eaſie than dangerous, what through forgerie abuſing him, through ſophiſtry tranſporting him, and not rather to betake himſelfe to the right path of trueth, whereunto God and Nature, Reaſon and Experience doe all give witneſſe: and that is to aſſociate himſelfe to that Church, whereunto the cuſtody of this heavenly and ſupernaturall trueth hath beene from heaven it ſelfe committed, to weigh diſcreetely which is the true Church, and that being once found, to receive faithfully and obediently without doubt or diſcuſſion whatſoever it delivereth. Nowe concerning the firſt point ſome doubt might be made, if there were any church chriſtian in the world to be ſhewed which had continued from Chriſts time down to this age, without change or interruption, this onely excepted: But if all other have had their end or decay long ſince, or their beginning but of late, if theirs be founded by the Prince of the Apoſtles, with promiſe by him, That Hell gates ſhould not prevaile againſt it, but that himſelfe woulde be aſſiſting to it vntill the conſummation of the worlde, which hath continued on now to the end of a thouſand ſixe hundred and foure yeares, with an honourable and certaine line of two hundred and fortie Popes, all being Succeſſours of Saint *Peter*; both Tyrants and Traitors,

both

both Pagans, and Heretiques, in vaine wreſtling, raging, barking, and vndermining, if all the lawfull Councels that ever were in the world, being the general Senates of Gods Officers and Miniſters have from time to time approved, obeyed, and honored it; if God have ſo miraculouſly bleſſed it from above, as that ſo many ſage Doctors ſhould inrich it with their writings, ſuch armies, yea millions of Saints with their holines, of Martires with their blood, of Virgins with their puritie, ſhould ſanctifie and ſeale it; if their Church have beene a ruine alwaies to them that oppoſed againſt her, a ſtay, repoſe, and advauncement to all her followers; if even at this day in ſuch difficulties of rebellions and revolts of her neereſt children, yet ſhee ſtretcheth out her armes to the vttermoſt corners of the world, embracing whole Nations into her boſome; If laſtly in all other oppoſite Churches whereſoever, there be nothing to be found but inward diſſention and contrarietie, change of opinions, vncertaintie of reſolutions, robbing of churches, rebellion againſt Governours, confuſion of orders, nothing to be attended but miſchiefe, ſubverſion, and deſtruction (which they have well deſerved, and ſhall aſſuredly have) whereas contrary, in their Churches, the vnitie vndivided, the obedience vnforced, the vnalterable reſolutions, the moſt heavenly order reaching from the height of all power, to the very loweſt of all ſubiection, with admirable harmonie, and vndefective correſpondencie, all tending to the ſame way, to the effecting of the ſame worke, did promiſe no other than continuaunce, increaſe, and victory. Let no man doubt to ſubmit himſelfe to this glorious ſpouſe of God, on whoſe head is the bleſſing of God, in whoſe hand is the power of God, vnder whoſe feet are the enemies of God, and to whom round about do ſervice all the creatures of God. This then beeing accorded to be the true Church of God, it followeth that ſhee be reverently obeyed in all things, without further inquiſition, having this warrant, That whoſo heareth her, hear-

eth

eth Christ, and whosoever heareth her not, hath no better place then a Publican or a Pagan. And what folly were it to receive the Scripture vpon credite of her authoritie, and not to receive the interpretation also vpon her authority and credite? And if God should not protect his Church alwaies from error, & peremptorily to command all men to obey her, then had hee made but slender provision for the salvation of mankinde, to whome error in matter of faith is certaine damnation; which conceit of God (whose care of vs, even in all things touching this transitorie life, is so plaine and evident) were vngratefull and impious. And hard were the case, and meane had beene his regard of the vulgar people, whose wants and difficulties in this life will not permit; whose capacities will not suffice to sound the deepe and hidden mysteries of divinitie, to search out intricate controversies, if there were not other, whose authoritie they might rely on: Blessed therefore are they which beleeve and have not seene, the merite of whose religious humility and obedience, doth exceede perhaps in honour and acceptation before God, the subtile and profound knowledge of many other. And lastly, if any man, either in regard of his vocation, or reason of his leasure, list to studie the controversies, let him take heede he come not with a doubtfull minde vnto them, (for diffidence is as the sinne of rebellion) let him be stedfast in faith, let him submit his owne reason to the Churches authority, being the house of God, the pillar and ground of truth, let him be fast and immoveably built vpon that foundation, and let his end onely be this; to furnish and arme himselfe in such sort, as to be able to withstand and overthrow those heretiques, when they shall at any time choose or chance to encounter. This is the maine course of their perswading at this day, whereby they seeke to reestablish that former foundation. In the vnfolding whereof, I have beene the longer, because triall hath taught mee, that not by some meas private election, but as it should

ſeeme by common order, direction, or conſent, they have relinquiſhed all other courſes, and doe hold them to this as the moſt effectuall meanes, by the way of perſwaſion to worke this deſigne. In conſidering whereof, there commeth to my minde, that diverſity which a wiſe Philoſopher hath intimated in the wits of men; That ſome are of ſo ſharpe, deepe, and ſtrange diſcourſe, that they yeelde not their aſſent vnto any thing vntill they have found out, either ſome proper demonſtrations for it, or ſome other certaine proofe whereon to ground it aſſuredly. Others are ſo ſhallow and weake in that faculty, that they feare alwaies error in working with it: and therefore do more willingly accord to whatſoever ſome of account for wiſedome doe barely affirme, then to any thing which this reaſon alone (which they ſuſpect) inferreth. Now theſe latter exceeding the other, as farre in number, as in worthineſſe and honour of nature, they are exceeded by them; the Romaniſt taking a courſe ſo fitting to the feeble and fearefull humour of this ſort, do greatly ſway with them, whereas if they meet with one of the former, of more tough conſtitution, that will not be carried away with thoſe plauſible declamations, nor yeelde his conſent in groſſe, without particular examinations, they beſtow ſmal coſt on him, as having ſmall hope to prevaile: wherein I holde them wiſe in the rules of pollicy; that having found by certaine and vnfaileable experience, that the ignorance of the *Layter* was the cheefeſt and ſureſt ſinew of their greatneſſe and glory, they now being not able to keepe them longer in that blinde ignorance, doe cunningly endevour ſo to leade them out of the briars, as to enter them withall into a ſecond kinde of ignorance; that being not content to ſee vtterly nothing, at leaſtwiſe they may bee perſwaded to reſigne vp their owne eye ſight, and to looke thorow ſuch ſpectacles as they temper for them.

13 This being the maine ground-worke of their pol-

licie

ficie, and these the generall meanes to build and establish it in the mindes of all men, the particular waies they hold to ravish all mens affections, and to fit each humor, (their iurisdiction & power being but perswasive & voluntary) are wel-nie infinit, there being not any thing, either sacred, or prophane, no vertue or vice almost, no things of how contrary conditions soever, which they make not, in some sort, to serve their turne; that each fancy may be satisfied, and each appetite finde what to feede on; whatsoever eyther wealth can sway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the despisers of the world; what honour with the ambitious, what obedience with the humble; what great imployment with the stirring mettalld spirites, what perpetuall quiet with heavy and restive bodies, what content the pleasant natures can take in pastimes and jollity; what contrariwise, the austere mindes in discipline & rigor; what love, either chastity can raise in the pure, or voluptuousnesse in the dissolute; what alurements are in knowledge, to draw the contemplative, or in actions of state, to possesse the practique dispositions; what prerogative of reward can worke with the hopefull; what terrors, doubts, and dangers with the fearefull; what change of vowes with the rash, of estate with the inconstant; what pardons with the faulty, or supplies with the defective; what miracles with the credulous, what visions with the fantasticall, what gorgeousnesse of shewes with the vulgar and simple, what multitude of ceremonies with the superstitious, what prayer with the devoute, what works of pietie with the charitable, what rules of higher perfection with the elevated affections, what dispencing with the breach of all rules with men of lawlesse conditions? In summe, what thing soever can prevaile with any man, either for himselfe to pursue, or at least wise to love, reverence, or honour in another, (for therein also mans nature receiveth great satisfaction) the same is found with them; not as in other places of the world by casualty, blinded without order, and

of neceſſitie; but ſorted into great parties into ſeverall profeſſions, countenanced with the reputation, honoured with prerogatives, & facilitated with proviſions & yearly maintenance: and either as the better things advanced with expectation of rewards, or borne with, how bad ſoever, with ſilent tolleration; what pompe, what riot, to that of the Cardinalls; what ſeverity of life comparable to the Hermits and Capuchins; who wealthier then their Prelates; who poorer by vow and profeſſion, then their Mendicans; on the one ſide of the ſtreete, a Cloiſter of Virgins, on the other a ſtye of Curtezans, with publique promiſſion: to day all in maskes, with all looſeneſſe and foolery, to morrow all in proceſſions, whipping themſelves till the blood follow: vpon one doore, one excommunication, throwing downe to hell all tranſgreſſours; on another, a iubilie or full diſcharge from all tranſgreſſions. Who more learned in all kinde of ſciences then their Ieſuites; who more ignorant then their ordinary Maſſe-prieſts; what Princeſo able to preferre his ſervants and followers, as the Pope, and in ſo great multitude; who able to take deeper or readier revenge of his enemies; what pride equall to his, making Kings kiſſe his pantables; what humility greater then his, ſhriving himſelfe daily on his knees, to an ordinary Prieſt; who more difficult in giving diſpatch to the greater; who eaſier in giving audience to the meaneſt; where greater rigor in the world, in exacting the obſervation of the Church lawes; where leſſe care and conſcience of the commandements of God? To taſte fleſh on a Friday where ſuſpition might faſten, were a matter for the Inquiſition: whereas on the other ſide, the Sunday is one of their greateſt market daies. To conclude, never government, never ſtate in the world ſo ſtrongly compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertaine the ſeverall humours of all men, and to worke what kinde of effects ſoever they ſhall deſire, where rigor and remiſneſſe, crueltie and lenitie are ſo combined, that with neglect of

the

the Church to stirre aught, is a sinne vnpardonable, whereat with dutie towardes the Church, by intercession for her allowance, with respective attendance for her pleasure, no lawe almost of GOD or Nature, so sacred, which one waye or other, they ever finde meanes to dispence with, or at least wise, permitte the breach of, by convenience, and without disturbance.

But to proceede to their more particular proiects, and more mystical devises, for the perpetuating of their greatnesse; there was never yet state so well built in the world, having his ground, as theirs hath, in the good wil of others, and notwithstanding by his own maine strength & power, that could longer vp-hold it selfe in florishing reputation and prosperitie, then it could make it selfe necessarie to them by whom it subsisted. All callings of men, all degrees in common-wealths, yea particular great personages, then in waging in their greatnesse, when they decay in their necessarinesse to them from whom they have it, which if the Papacy nothing ignorant of, have by secret cunning, so deepely engaged and interessed from time to time, the greatest Monarches in Christendome, in the vpholding of his estate, that without the Papacie, sundry of them have no hope, and can pleade no title to continue in their dominions. For (omit things more apparant) and in the eyes of all men, their pretended authority to excommunicate and depose them, to discharge subiects of all oaths and bonds of obedience, to oblige them vnder paine of damnation, to rise against them, to honour their murtherers with the title of Martyrs; for to that degree of extreamity hath some of their sect growne. The effect of which proceeding, some Princes have felt, and most have feared, and few at this day list to put it to adventure: the tampering of so vnlimited power of Princes marriages, by dispensing with degrees, by the law of God and the world forbidden, by loosing and knitting marriages by devise at

pleasure; by legitimating vnlawfull and accursed issue; and thereby advancing into Thrones of regalitie, oftentimes base, sundrie times adulterous, yea, sometimes incestuous, and perhaps, vnnatural of-springs. Dooth not Reason fore-tell, and hath not Experience thought, that both the parties in such marriages, and much more their whole issue, are bound in as strong a bond to the vp-holding of the Popes infinite authoritie and power, as the honour of their birth, and the title of their Crowne are worth? It was a seely conceit in them which hoped that Queene *Mary* wou'd not vp-holde the Popes authority in *England*, by reason of her promise, when a greater bond to her then her promise did presse her to it. What man ever in the world, stucke fairer to his chosen friend, then the late King of *Spaine Phillip* did to the Papacy? notwithstanding with the Popes themselves, his often jelousies and quarrells: having ordained moreover, that all his heires and successours in the Estate of the Low-countries, by vertue of his late transport, shall for ever vpon their entry into those Seignories, take an oath for the maintaining of the Papacie and that religion. Is not the reason apparant, that if the Papacy should quaile, his onely sonne whosoever descend of him, are dishonoured and made vncapable of those great Estates and Kingdomes which now he holdeth, yea and a fire kindled in his owne house about the title to them? nei her is it to be admitted into any conceit of reason, but that this young King will be as sure to the Papacy, as his father, being borne of a marriage prohibited by God, abhorred happily by Nature, disproved by the world, and onely by papall authority made alowable. For (for my part I hold not that opinion vnprobable) that the marriage of Vnckle and Neece, (as it was in this case) was contrary to the law of Nature, and not Gods positive law only, seeing the vnckle hath a second right and place of a father. But howsoever that point stand, wherein I dare

not

not affirme aught, it is cleerely contrary to such a positive law of God, as the reason and cause thereof must needes continue vnto the dissolution of the world, or overthrow of mankinde. And therefore, in reason and law, no way agreeable or dispensable with, but by the same or higher authority, then that which first did make it: that the Pope neede not thinke that they doe him so apparant wrong, who invest him with the title of that man of power; who sitting in the temple of God, exalteth himself above God. For what may it seeme else, bearing himselfe head of the Church, to take vpon him to councell, or autentically to allow of the breach of Gods law, without having his expres and precise commission for so doing? Though I am not ignorant, that they have distinctions for all this, which were a merry matter, if Sophistry were proper science of salvation. But by this & some other marriages, those strange relations of aliance have growne: that K. *Philip* (were he alive) might call the Archd. *Albert*, both brother, cosen, nephew, and son; for all this were he vnto him, either by blood or affinitie, being vnkle to himselfe, cosen germain to his father, and father to his wife. And to come a step neerer home, the same rule of pollicy made me greatly feare, til now that god by death hath prevented the mischiefe, howsoever hitherto, what for feare of scandalising, what for other respects, the Pope made shew, not to be forward to consent to an intended marriage between a married K. and his Mistris, much lesse to legittimate the children adulterously begotten, by finding nullities on both sides in the former marriages; things made of purpose, as hee knoweth, to cloke a falshoode, that yet notwithstanding himselfe or his successours, would yeelde to it in the end, if any colour in the world could be laide vppon the matter, to salve the credite of his not erring Sea: And hee might see good hope for that race to prevaile, deriving the succession also of his other greate Kingdome vppon issue, whose tytle must holde vppon his legittimation,

timation hee might be better assured of it, then he hath beene hetherto, and have them ever firme and irreconcileable adversaries, to all those, whether subiects or neighbours, or whosoever, as should oppose against his Soveraignitie and vnlimited power. So searching and penetrant is that Sea, to strengthen it selfe more by the vnlawfull marriages of other men, than ever Prince yet coulde doe, by any lawfull marriage of his owne.

15 The dispencing with oathes, and discharging from them, especially in matters of treatie betweene Princes and Estates, is a thing so repugnant to all morall honesty, so iniurious to the quiet and peace of the world, so odious in it selfe, so scandalous to all men, that it may be, they adventure not to play vpon that string in this curious age, so often as heeretofore, for feare of discording all the rest of their harmony. Cleare it is, that heeretofore this made them a necessary helpe for all such Princes, as either vpon extreamity, were driven to enter into hard conditions, or vpon falshood and dishonesty, desired to take their advantage against their neighbours when it was offered. In which, Princes having no meanes to salve their credite with the world, but onely by iustifying the vnholinesse of the Art, by the Popes holy authority interposed in it, were afterwards tied firmely to adhere vnto them. And this was the cause that *Francis* the first of *France*, with whom (immediately vpon his oath, given to *Charles* the fift, for performance of the articles, accorded at his delivery) *Clement* the 7. dispenced, and by probale coniecture, had promised to dispence with his oath, before he had made it, vpon hope whereof also he took it: the effect was for the Popes behoofe, that evet after there was strict love & intelligence between them testified finally to the world by that famous marriage betweene the fonne of the one, and the kinswoman of the other. And verily, though I hold in generall too much suspitiousnesse, as great a fault, and as great an ene-

enimie to wisedome, as too much Incredulitie, it doing oftentimes as great a wrong to friends, as the other doth receyve wrongfull hurt from dissemblers: yet viewing the short continuance of sworne leagues at this day, the small reckoning that Princes make of oathes solemnly taken, whether to neighbours or subiects; not faith but profit being the bond of aliance and amitie, which altering once, the other have no longer during: it maketh me thinke it not possible, that Popes vnlimited fingers may be scarring even at this day more often in secret, in vntying those knots of the bonds of conscience then the world is ware of: at leastwise, that by authoritie and imitation of his example, Princes assume vnto themselves a like facultie of dispencing with their owne oaths, whensoever they can perswade themselves it is behooveful to their kingdome, as he when to his Church. But howsoever that standeth, this is verie apparant, that by this doctrine and policie, the Popes opposites and enemies, especially the states and Princes of the reformed Religion are inestimable preiudiced, being reduced hereby to a continuall vncertaintie and confusion in all their weightiest actions, counsels, and resolutions, there being a warrant dormant for all men to break league and oath with them, and no need of particular dispensation from his holines. Their Church long since by hir rules and some of great reckoning agõgst them, more lately by their writings have published and preached to al the world, that faith given to heretikes is not to be kept; that leagues with them are more honourable in their breaking, then in their making, denying that right vnto Princes of Christian profession, which Christians vnto Heathens, Heathens one to another, of how different religion soever; yea al honorable princes vnto very traitors and rebels, have alwaies kept vnviolable. And finally, if father *Parsons* at his last comming to *Rome*, pretending to make peace betwixt the English scholers, and the Iesuites (who were charged with too much indirect dealing, and large imbesling) and setting downe certaine

taine indifferent Articles betweene them to that purpoſe, wherby each part ſhould be bound to deſiſt impugning of the other, did by handling the matter with ſuch conveiance and cunning, (imitating therein a rule of faſt on the one ſide, and looſe on the other, in the ground of their order) as firſt to ſweare the Scholers, to obſerve that which was their part, and after to leave the Ieſuites vnſworne to theirs, to effect his ſecret and ambitious intent; and to the great griefe of the Scholers, made the Ieſuites their governours: what other accoût can be made of theſe leagues & peaces betwixt thoſe of the Romane, and of the reformed religion, but that the one ſide being tied by oath, and the other left free, (for ſo are they taught) they ſhal ſo far-forth have performance and continuance, as ſhall be to the advancement and profit of that partie which eſteemeth it ſelfe leaſt at libertie, the ſacred; the ſovereigne inſtrument of all iuſtice amongſt men, what is it, what can it be in this world but an oath, being the ſtrongſt of conſcience? This is the end of ſtrifes particular; this is the ender of publike peace, and the ſole aſſurance of amitie betweene divers nations, which being made here below, is inrolled in his high Court, whoſe glorious name doth ſigne it, who hath made no graunt of acceſſe to his celeſtiall pallace, but to ſuch as have ſworne true, though it redound to their owne damage yet ſwarve not from it; that nothing but miſchiefe can be preſaged to the world, in this age moſt wretched, wherein Periurie hath vndermined the tribunals of iudgement, which hath chaſed out true iuſtice out of the world, and left no place for a iuſt man where to ſtand againſt the craftie: But what may be ſaide when he that ſitteth in the Temple of God, ſhall ſo farre advaunce himſelfe above God, as to diſpence with othes made ſacred by the moſt holy & high name of God? when he that profeſſeth himſelf ſole vmpire and peace-maker of the world, ſhall cut in ſunder thoſe onely ſinewes that hold peace togither? when the father of Princes ſhall carry himſelfe with ſo wicked partialitie, and caſt (by diſſolving of

oaths)

oaths) affliction on the partie he hateth, and making togither perpetually obnoxious to him to worke his owne certaine advantage from both? and lastly, by making of that ancient bridle of the vniust, to be now an onely snare to intrap the innocent, and impose that blemish vpon Christianitie, which Pagans in their naturall moralitie have abhorred?

I will not here omit one other great helpe, which casualty rather then cunning may seeme to have wrought; it falling out often in the affairs of men, that where wisdom hath furnished out sundry aydes and instruments, there some also do frame themselves (as it were by chaunce) springing downe of diverse accidents with the former, as at this day the greatnesse of the house of *Austria*, extending it selfe wel nigh to all quarters of Europe; and confining with manie of the Popes principall adversaries, who having long since vpon the rich purchase which they had of the Indies, devoured in assured hope and conceit the Monarchy of our Westerne world. And finding no fitter meanes to enlarge their temporall Dominions, than by concurring with the Pope, in restoring his spirituall, have linked themselves most fast with his Sea, and investing themselves voluntarily with an Office of their owne direction, have taken vpon them to be the executioners of his Excommunications, that having title from the Pope who giveth his enemies states *Occupanti* alwayes, and distracting their owne Subiects from them, vpon feare of his curse: the rest they may supply out of their owne sort: and opportunities having erected for his purpose that superpolitique and irrefragable order (as they count it) of the Iesuites, who couple in their perswasions, as one God, and one Faith; so one Pope also, and one King, bearing the world in hand, that there is no other meanes in the world for the Church to stand, but by resting vpon this pillar, and by vniting in this sort all the forces of the Christians: this the onely meanes to vanquish the Arh-

enimie of Chriſtianitie, that the Italians may not brag to have beene the onely men, who have ſubdued the world vnto them by their wit, the Spaniards having prooved ſo good Schollers in their Schooles, that though they follow them in their grounds of pretending the advauncement of Religion, and in their inſtruments of religious Orders, to practiſe mens mindes with, yet in this they outgoe them, that they vſe the Popes weapons, lightnings, and thunderings, and terrors for inſtruments of their owne greatneſſe, and his hope of reeſtabliſhing his ſpirituall reputation by them, to the immoderate increaſe of his ſecular power by him, that the Pope alſo himſelf muſt in the end be cõſtrained to caſt himſelfe into their armes, and to remain to their devotion, acknowledging him henceforward for his good Lord and patrone, whom he hath heretofore governed & commanded as his ſon; a point which as ſome of the miniſters of *Spaine*, in the height of their pride have not bin able to hold in, but have braved the aſſembly of Cardinals to their beards, that they hop'd ere lõg to ſee the day that their maſter ſhould tender halfa dozen to the Pope to be made Cardinals at once, whereof he ſhould not dare to refuſe to chooſe any one. And that the Cardinals theſelves ſhould as little dare to chooſe any other Pope then whom hee named, ſo their too important preſſing of the Pope in theſe latter times to ſerve all their ambitious and raging turnes, in the long preiudicing the liberrie of the Conclave in their elections have given them good aſſurance, that they ſpeake as they meane, that their bragges are hopes and purpoſes, and theſe threatnings (being the naturall fruits of the Spaniſh hautines and inſolencie, who in the pride of their Monarchie are growne now alſo to ſweare by the life of their king) have extremely perplexed ſome of the later Popes, & driven them to very extraordinarie and deſperate reſolutions, which they have paid for deerly, & in general, have made it enacted for a rule in that ſea, not ſomuch to ſeeke the repairing of their forreine ſpiritual authoritie

thoritie (if it cannot be done but by meanes of ſo huge inconvenience) as to ſtrengthen and make themſelves great in their temporall eſtate at home, yet ſeeing *Fraunce*, beyond all hope of Man revnited within it ſelfe, and likely to flouriſh as in his former proſperitie, whereby they ſhall be able to ballance theſe Monarchies, as ſo make that part the heavier, to which they ſhall propend (an auntient rule and continuall practiſe of that Sea) I ſhoulde not greatly doubt, but that they will be content againe henceforward, ſo long as matters ſtand in the tearmes they doe, to entertaine that good correſpõdencie with the houſe of *Auſtria*, as to ſerve them with their Excommunications, that they may be ſerved by them with their Executions. The ſweetneſſe whereof, as the Spaniard hath long ſince taſted, in effect (having ſeazed on a Manor, by that onely pretence, and of late times in high conceit and hope, truſting to have imbraced both *Fraunce* and *England* by the ſame meanes) ſo I doubt not but that other braunch of the houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany*, which hath ingroſſed, and in a manner intailed to their houſe, ſo many elective ſtates; the Empires, the kingdome of *Bohemia* with his dependances, and of *Hungarie*, and were likely alſo of late to have added the Princedome of *Tranſilvania*, whenſoever they ſhould attaine quiet and ſecuritie from the Turke, which hath no great vnlikelihood to be compaſſed in ſhort time, woulde take the ſame courſe againſt the Proteſtants of *Germany*, having ſo many Prelates and others there to aſſiſt them, (who by rooting out the Proteſtants out of all their eſtates have prepared a good ground for ſuch a future exploite) howſoever the Pope himſelfe doth yet forbeare his thunders, having learned by his loſſe elſe-where, that it argueth in theſe actions, more courage than witte, to make noiſe before the blowe be ready. Nowe, as theſe are the hopes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, for the enlarging of their eſtates and moleſting of their neighbors, ſo for the entertaining of perpetuall vnitie and love amongſt themſelves,

they vſe the grand preſervative and helpe of marriage, the onely ſure bond of amitie in the worlde. Inſomuch, that by continuall inter-marrying amongeſt themſelves, they remaine ſtill as brethren all of one Familie, and as armes of the ſelfe ſame body: Theſe take I to be the meanes whereby the Papacie hath aſſured ſo many of the greateſt vnto it.

17 To deſcend from which, to thoſe that are next to them in degree, as the nobilitie, and other perſons of worth and qualitie: the Papacie is not vnprovided of his Inſtruments to worke vpon theſe alſo; ſhee hath hir baits to allure them, their hookes to retaine them, I will not ſtand much vppon the benefite their confeſſion dooth heerein yeelde them, whereby prying into the hearts and conſciences of all men, they attaine knowledge of the ſecretes, they ſound the diſpoſitions, they diſcover the humors of all the moſt reſpective and able perſons, of what countrey, or calling, place, or qualitie ſoever. A matter of ſingular conſideration in the managing of affaires, of principall importance for the well guiding of Councelles: The ignoraunce whereof hath beene the cauſe of errour in the wiſeſt deliberations, and of vncertaine ſucceſſe in the moſt grounded reſolutions, to omit the great wealth which they heape ther-by, perſwading their Penitents, eſpecially in that onely houre of agony and extremitie, to ranſome their ſins committed againſt God, by conſecrating their goods vnto the Church of God, whereby they have prevailed in all places, ſo farre the Ieſuites above all other, who are noted and envied by other orders of friars, for ingroſſing the commoditie of being rich mens Confeſſours, when good is to be done, with whome their prankes in that kind have beene ſo rare and memorable, that moſt ſtates at this day have beene forced, by publique order, to limite the proportion of that kinde of purchaſe, for in that caſe they can eaſily extenuate thoſe other helpes of Indulgences, and of Requiems, and their privileged Altars. And yet without

touch

touch of the Popes omnipotencie they count them but ſimple folks, that cannot vſe their ſeverall deviſes, without croſſing one the other, how contrary ſoever. They can tell them, that it may be for want of contrition in themſelves thoſe ſoveraigne pardons wanted a fitte ſubiect to worke on; and ſo for other after-helps, the want of intention in the Prieſt may fruſtrate the Maſſe of the prerogative of vertue, whereby their ſoules may perhappes frie in Purgatory, when their friendes ſhall imagine they ſhine in Glorie, that the onely ſure way of having good, is doing good. And what good to be done at his death, but by beſtowing well of his goodes? And where better beſtowing them than vppon him that gave them? And to GOD they are given, when they are given vnto his Miniſters.

18 And heere I will no other than mention onely the helpe which the choice of their Cardinalles dooth yeelde heerein, whom they chooſing a great part out of the moſt noble and potent families, that either voluntarily deſire it, or otherwiſe can be induced to accept it. They both give good ſatisfaction to all forraine Nations, and eſpecially holde *Italie* to them in ſpeciall devotion, and ſtrengthen themſelves with the favor and ſupport of thoſe mens kinreds, whom they have placed in the next ſteppe to the top of their glorie, yea, and oftentimes by means of theſe Cardinalles (their aſſured inſtruments) they inſinuate themſelves into the ſwaying of the government of thoſe eſtates, wherein, either by their Nobilitie, or other woorth, they beare authoritie; A pollicie of long vſage, and obſerved by many.

19 But Iewelles are rare, and for few mens wearing; the multitude and diverſity of men of ſpirite requireth alſo ſtore and variety of competent livings and preferments to entertaine them with good content and correſpondencie; a thing in all eſtates of very neceſſary and chiefe regard, wherein, although the Papacie ſeeme at the firſt bluſh to have

haue no furniture extraordinary aboue other Princes, ſaue onely in one kinde, for men of Eccleſiaſticall calling, by which he is able to aduaunce men of learning incomparably aboue any other Prince in the world, as hauing welnie all the Archbiſhoprickes and Biſhoprickes in *Italie*, with other Church liuings, almoſt halfe the benefices in *Spaine*, very many Eccleſiaſticall preferments of all ſortes in other countries at his beſtowing. And if we looke into the vſe and practiſe of theſe times, it will not appeere, that euen by Eccleſiaſticall liuings, he partly accommodateth, and partly ſuffers to bee accommodated, all profeſſions and ages though neither fitte nor very capable of Eccleſiaſticall order, what by diſpenſations or tollerations to be adminiſtrators to Abbeys, Biſhoprickes, and other Benefices as is vſed in *Fraunce*. What as in *Italie* and *Spaine* by aſſignations of yeerely penſions out of their reuenews, which beeing ſo great as there they are, they may eaſily, and hauing hope of aſpiring they may willingly beare: and moſt of this out of the dominions and territories of other Princes, and without any charging or impouerishing of his owne: A choice and refined peece of high Quinteſſence of witte, which yet never ſtate coulde diſtill out of their braines to aſpire vnto, beſides the Papacie. To let paſſe the infinite number of honours and liuings, what Eccleſiaſticall, what ſubordinate, and miniſteriall to them, and what alſo in part temporall as belonging to the Knights of the holy Orders, which are many. All which, although not directly in his owne donation, yet in that they haue their right, either grounded, or greatly fauoured and continued by his religion: And in decay of that (as experience hath ſhewed) were likely to quaile, are ſtrong proppes to the vpholding of the Papacie, arming ſo many tongues and hands in the defence therof, as either are, or haue hope to be aduanced by it, each drawing his friendes and followers with him. A ſweete enchanter and deceiuer of men, is the hope of honour and worldely profite, which lulling

oft

oft even in the better sort) the cõscience asleep, doth awake withall, and sharpen the wit, to find out arguments for the prooving of that conclusion, which affection before hath framed, and by custome continueth, & ingendreth in them a perswasion that they have done well, in that which at the first their owne knowledge could say otherwise; howe powerfully then may it sway with that other sort of men, whose belly being their god, make their appetite their sole Religion? If the experience of former times hath not sufficiently affirmed, it were to be wished perhaps, that more fresh proofe might have beene given thereof once againe in this kingdome of *France*, where some of the wisest and chiefe have thought, that if the King have accorded to the Cleargies late supplication, to bestowe Church-livings vpon fitte men, and onely of Ecclesiasticall calling. Those Princes and Peeres, which now in regard of that particular cõmoditie which they reape from the Church in termes as it standeth, would have vnsheathed their swords in defence thereof, would soone have turned themselves another way, to the vtter razing of it, that they might satisfie their greedinesse with the spoile of that state, whose pay they could no longer have.

20 But for the Cleargie themselves, who are in all places vnder the Papacie, great in number and power, they are most firmely to that Sea, what by the multitude of exemptions and prerogatives above the temporaltie, which vnder the Popes protection they securely enioy, what with expecting no other then vtter soccage and ruine, if the opposites of the Pope should happen to prevaile, so vnstrict and violent have bin their carriage in most places, where they have bin able, either to bring or to pull in their reformation: yea herein also it hath befalne, as in some other things, that not only casuall, but even mere crosse accidents have redoũded to the Popes great advantage and benefit. The part which in this age hath bin railed against, having wrought this effect, to make the rest more firme, more ser-

viceable, and more zealous towardes him, inſomuch that whereas in *Fraunce* he was ſmally regarded of any, but ſtomaked at by the Princes, impeached, abridged, and appealed from by the Prelates; and laſtly, either deſpiſed or neglected by the people, the hatred and rancor conceived againſt his enemies with eagreneſſe of oppoſition, kindling, and having long continuance therein, hath ſtrongly ſettled and produced effects of cleane contrarie nature; the Princes have ioyned in holy league, for the vpholding of him, the people with all furie have raged, have fought againſt, have murdered and maſſacred his oppoſites in all places, and the cleargie of *Fraunce*, which heretofore withſtoode him in many Councels, doth now call mainly for his Councell of *Trent* to be admitted, a Councell of all other moſt vnto him, and carried by him with ſuch infinite guile, and craft, without any ſinceritie, vpright dealing, or truth, as that themſelves will even ſmile in the triumphes of their owne wittes, (when they heare it but mentioned) as at a maſter Stratageme. Yea, ſo ſtrongly hath this oppoſition faſtned his Cleargie vnto him, that the name of a Generall Councell is nowe the moſt plauſible, which in former time was the moſt fearefull thing to him in the world, and wherevnto hee was never brought with any better good will, then an olde bitten Beare is drawne to the ſtake to be bayted, by his enemies, who dare tugge him in companie, at whom in ſingle they ſcarce durſt barke: ſo powerfull is the nature of all oppoſition to increaſe deſpight and hatred againſt the enemie, and to make friends, eſpecially thoſe that are intereſſed in the ſame cauſe, to cleave more cloſe togither. Yea rather, ſo wiſe is the ever admirable Creator, even in all his workes, of what nature ſoever, as to temper the very accidents in the life of man, with ſuch proportion and counterpoiſe, that no proſperitie without his inconvenience, no adverſitie without his comfort, to chaſe out of mans life ſecuritie and diſpaire, the onely enimies of all vertuous & honeſt courſes. To each thing

hath

hath the goodneſſe of that Architect imparted a peculiar badge of honour, that nothing ſhould be diſpiſeable in the eies of other; the prince in maieſty & ſoveraignty of power; the nobilitie in wiſdome and dominative vertue, togither with the inſtruments therof, as riches, reputation, alies, and folowers: and the people in their multitude are reſpectable and honourable; which multitude being of ſo great conſequence in matter of ſtate, the policy of the papacie hath not neglected, but provided both reaſonable intertainment for them, and fit means alſo to practiſe and worke vpon them: here commeth in thoſe heapes of their religious orders, & that multitude of Friers which abound in all places, but wherewith *Italy* aboue al doth ſwarme. A race of people in former times honourable in their holines, now for the moſt part contemptible in their wickednes and miſerie; alwayes praying, but ſeldome with ſigne of devotion; vowing obedience, but ſtill contentious; chaſtitie, yet moſt luxurious; povertie, yet every where ſcraping and covetous: which I ſpeak not of them al, there being many among them of ſingular piety & devotion in their way, but a very ſmal part as they generally reported where ever I have come. But to returne to the aide which the Papacie do reape from thē, the only contentfull care that the ordinary ſort of men have in this world, is for the providing for their children, to leave them in good eſtate, and not inferior, but rather above their anceſtors, which thoſe that have many, not being able to performe, for all it is a great eaſe to them (and ſuch an eaſe as even Princes and great Peeres themſelves ſometimes diſdaine not, but are rather glad of) to diſcharge their hands of ſome of them, eſpecially of ſuch as by diſgrace, or by defect of nature, are eyther more backewarde, or leſſe lovely then other, at an eaſie and ſmall rate, and yet with honourable pretence, namely by conſecrating them wholy to the ſervice of the Creator, and providing higher place for them in his celeſtiall Kingdome. For ſuch is their opinions of theſe orders of religious and Angelicall

perfection as they vſually ſtile them. The Friers alſo themſelves, having names given them by their governours, each according to his merits, importing no leſſe, and as they increaſe in their holineſſe, ſo proceeding in their titles, from *Padre benedicto*, to *Padre Angelo*, then *Archangelo*, *Cherubino*; and laſtly *Cerephino*, which is the toppe of perfection: but for their owne high conceite of their perfection and merites this example may ſerve. I have heard one of their moſt renowmed *Capuchines* for zeale, ſanctitie, and learning, preaching in a principall place before the Biſhop, in ſharpe reproofe of their forſaken crew of blaſphemous gameſters, pray ſolemnly to God (though acknowledging himſelfe firſt in humilitie a great ſinner) by his merits, and diſcipline, by the teares which his eies had often ſhedde, by thoſe manie ſharpe voyages, which for the love of God he had made, by that chaſtiſement which he had often given himſelf, becauſe they did grieve (*animam pauperis*) with himſelfe, that if there were any, notwithſtanding his admonitions, which ſhould ſtill perſiſt in that wicked gamſtrie, he would ſtrike them ere that day twelvemonth with ſome markeable puniſhment. The ſame man at an other time in an extacie of charitie, calling God, all his Angelles, and Saintes to witneſſe it, to ſtrippe himſelfe of all his merites, there before the litle Crucifixe, embracing, and kiſſing it, and pray it [illegible]ewarde them, vppon his dearely beloved Auditorie, for whoſe ſakes he was contented alſo to bee reputed the greateſt ſinner of all the aſſemblie, ſuch being their perfection then in deſiring it, muſt needes iſſue of an honourable affection. Nowe although *Italie* being a thirſtie Manager, doe in his heart greatly repine a cuſtome which their Nunneries have of late brought vppe, (beeing indeede conſtrained to it by the exceſſive multitude, which in the former reſpect are thruſt vpon them) which is, not to receive any gentleman or marchãts daughter, without the dowry of 200. crowns at leaſt, and

and fifteene or twentie crowns yeerely pension during her life, and ten yeerly rent to their house for ever. Neither admit they of any mans daughter without some crownes also in name of a dowrie at their spirituall marriage to God, and those shalbe but serving Nunnes to the former. Yet finding two charges, this is farre the easier, they are content to swallow downe that, which by champing on they can not remedy. But the order of religious men bring them an other ease also: It disburtheneth their company of an infinite company of discontented humors, and dispairing passions, whosoever in his deerest loves hath prooved vnfortunate, whosoever cannot prosper in some other profession which he hath bin set to, whomsoever some notable disgrace or other crosse in estate hath turned off, all hope of ever rising in this worlde, whosoever by his miscarryiage hath purchased so many enimies, as that nothing but his blood can yeelde satisfaction to their malice. All these, and many others reduced to like anguish of mind, & distresse, or otherwise howsoever out of taste with the worlde, have this haven of Content alwayes open to flie to, when they can find no other place of repose to stand in: then resolve they to goe Friars, as they phrase it; yea whosoever by his monstrous blasphemie, or other like villany hath deserved all the tortures and deaths in the worlde. If (before the hand of Iustice lay hold vpon him) he voluntarily professe himselfe a Capuchine or Hermite, or of such like strict order. The Pope forbiddeth any further pursute, as thinking his voluntarie perpetuall penaunce sufficient. And in this maner is the greatest sort of their Gentrie Capuchins, for so are the most of the order by birth. Neither is this religious life (save in some verie few Orders) so severed from the world and the commoditie thereof, but that it enioyeth as many contentments as a moderate mind need wish, & moderate affections can find means also to satisfy themselves at pleasure. In summe, they are rather discharged of the toiles and cares, than debarred of the comforts and so-

lace of this life. Neither is there almoſt ſo meane a Friar among them, that hath not ſome hope to be Prior of his covent, and then perhaps of that reſort or province; and laſtly, not impoſſible that his good fortune may ſo accompany his merits, as to attaine to be the Generall of all his Order. And the Generalls are as likely to be made Cardinalls as any men. And finally, ſundrie of them within the memorie of man, have beene advaunced from the prehemineneces of the Cardinalls dignitie to the ſoveraignty of Papall glorie.

Hope is a ſweete and firme companion of man, it is the laſt thing that leaveth him, and the higheſt things it promiſeth him, it maketh all toiles ſupportable, all difficulties conquerable. Now the multitude of theſe Orders, and good proviſion for them, being ſo great an eaſe to all ſorts of men in their private eſtates, as they generally account it: It muſt needes be a great bond of their affection vnto the Papacie, vnder which they enioy it, as by whome alone thoſe Orders are protected, and whome his adverſaries do ſeek vtterly to exterminate and ruine. I ſhall ſpeake litle of the particular perſons that enter into thoſe Orders, who draw thereby their whole race the more to favour it, was (which in ſo infinit a number of them muſt needs be of great moment.) Againſt this might be obiected with great reaſon, the ineſtimable damage which the publique doe thereby receive, as in *Italie* for example, perhaps halfe of the land in many places thereof, and generally a full third, beſides their other availes, being appropriated to this ſort of people, and other perſons eccleſiaſtically; yea and of the people themſelves, perhaps a quarter of a million at leaſt in that one Country, having withdrawne themſelves thereby from all ſervice of Prince, or people, or countrey, and confined themſelves to their Cloyſters life, in beades, or Oriſons, living onely vpon the honnie, which the toyling Bee dooth gather, with perhappes an other quarter of a million of an other ſect (I am drie in both numbers,

but

but I ayme as neere the trueth as by coniecture I can, proportioning the places where I have not beene with thoſe where I have beene) who have abandoned themſelves to another trade as idle, but more wicked, devouring with mens goodes, their bodies and ſoules at once, which may be the cauſe that that countrey (though as populous as it can well beare, yet commeth manifold waies ſhort of that ſtrength which in former times it hath had, either for defence of it ſelfe, or offence of his neighbors; yet notwithſtanding theſe are Theoremes which few liſt to ſpeculate. The whole worlde running mainly to things ſenſible and preſent, and to that which profiteth them in their owne particular, though it bringeth with it a certayne hurt and finall ruine of the publique, without the ſafetie whereof to them that iudge things rightly, neither any particular eſtate can proſper, nor the moſt proſperous eſtate continue long.

22 But the benefit which the Papacie doth draw from theſe Friars conſiſteth leaſt in this point, in the accommodating and yeelding content to other, it ſtands in the multitude of harts, of tongs, & power diſperſed in al countries, but vnited in his ſervice of men of moſt fury, and furious zeale, who with inceſſant induſtry and reſolutenes incredible, give over no travell, leave no exploite ſo difficult or deſperate vnattempted for the vphoulding of the Papacie, and advauncing of that religion. On which all their comfort and credite in this life, all their hope of prerogative in the life to come dependeth, beeing of the other ſide eſteemed for the moſt lowſie companions, the moſt vnprofitable droanes, the moſt devouring locuſts, the moſt reprobate, ignoble, ignominious, and wicked race, that ever the world was peſtred with; in ſumme, more vile than the very mire they troade on. There was never yet ſtate ſo wel plotted in this world, or furniſht with ſuch ſtore of inſtrumēts to imploy in his ſervice, as to be abl to practiſe & perſwade with the multitude (otherwiſe than in their publike aſſemblies,

blies, or other meetings) the Papacy onely excepted, who by reason of the infinitenesse of these religious people, all made out of other folkes stuffe, and maintained at other folkes charge, is able, and dooth deale in publique and private, as occasion requireth, with men, women, and children, of how meane estate soever, instructing, exhorting, confirming, adiuring and kindling them in such sort, as maketh fittest for their drift: and for the end they prepoſed the difference in force, the effectualls of operation, betweene which private perswasions, and those publique preachings, where the hearers, according to the vle of mans nature, neglect that in particular, which is commended to their regard in common, though easie to conceive, yet they onely can sufficiently perhaps esteeme who have seene a Friar, an abandon of the world, a man wholy rapt with divine affections and extasies, his apparell denouncing all earthly vanities, his countenance preaching severitie, penance, and discipline, breathing nothing but sighes for the hatred of sinne; his eyes lifted vpwards, as fixed on his ioyes, his head bowed on the one side, with tenderneſſe of love and humility, extending his ready hands to lay hold on mens soules, to snatch them out of the fiery iawes of that gaping blacke Dragon, and to place them in the path that conducteth to Paradice. When such a man, I say, shal addresse himselfe to a woman, (whose sex hath beene famous ever for devotion and credulousnesse) or to any other vulgar person, of what sort soever, perswading and beseeching with all plausible motions of reason, yea with sighes of feare, and teares of love, instanting and importuning no other thing at their hands, then onely this, to be content to suffer God to save their Soules, and to receive them with everlasting happinesse, which they shall certainly attaine by rancking, themselves with the heavenly armies of God, (that is) by ioyning themselves to the Church of Christ, and his Vicar. And this againe and againe, are sundry times teached,

and

and purſued with ſhew of incredible care of their good, without ſeeking other meede or commodity to himſelfe, ſave onely of being the inſtrument of a ſoules ſalvation. Is it to be mervailed, if ſuch a man be received as an Angell of God, ſent expreſly for their ſalvations, to whom hee commeth, though he prevaile and poſſeſſe them in ſuch forcible ſort, as that no acceſſe remaine for any contrarie perſwaſion; That nothing ſo violent which they will not attempt, no thing ſo deere, which they will not beſtow for the advancement of that Church, by which themſelves hope finally to bee ſo highly exalted? And although all Friars (being of ſo divers mettall) are not able to play their parts ſo naturally, and with ſuch perfection as ſome that I have ſeene, yet being trained vp in the ſame ſchoole, they all hold one courſe: and certainely by their dealing with men at ſingle hand in private, and particularly apply perſwaſions, (which though they vſe not continually, yet doe they not neglect it whenſoever oportunity doth require.) They prevaile as (experience dooth daily ſhew) exceedingly.

23 What now may I ſay of their readineſſe to vndertake, and reſoluteneſſe to execute? what act how dangerous and deſperate ſoever, that may tend to the advancement of their ſide and order. I neede not ſeeke farre backe, nor farre off for examples. The late *Henry* of *France*, ſlaine traiterouſly by a Iacobine, and this King wounded by a ſcholler of Ieſuites, the one for want of zeale onely in their violent courſes, the other as miſdoubted of ſincerity in his converſion, may ſhew what meaſure their profeſt enemies were to attend, if they could have as open and ready acceſſe vnto them. Againe, this King went in danger of his life, a long while ſought by a Capuchin, having vndertaken it (as it was ſaid) at the inſtigation of certaine Ieſuites of *Lorreine*, to diſpatch him, whoſe picture being brought to *Paris* by the Marquiſe *Du Pont*, ſearch was made for him, and at length he was taken, and executed,

together with another Iacobine for the ſame crime. And what may it be thought theſe men would not doe, being commanded by their Generalls, whom they have vowed to obey? And in the Popes neceſſary ſervice, and with his expreſſe deſire, who are caried with ſo deſperate rage and fury againſt whatſoever impediments their bare conceits, without warrant of higher authority preſent vnto them, and is in violent attempts to be executed by themſelves: they are men reſolved, and hardy, as having no poſterity to be oppreſsed by their ruine, (which of all other things doth moſt containe men in duetie.) So in exciting the multitude of ſedition or tumult in favour of their cauſe, and of their Catholike religion, they are as ſcedulous and ſecret, vſing opportunity of confeſſion to practiſe the vulgar, with annexing of ſuch conditions to the abſolutions they give them, as the turne they intend to ſerve requireth. A point very memorable, in the weighing the manifold fruits which at this day that ſacrament beareth for the Papacy, as hath beene diſcovered at *Paris*; that certaine Confeſſours, having taken a ſolemne promiſe of their penitents, that they would live and die in the Catholike religion, yea and die for it alſo, if neede ſhall require, have enioyned them thereupon, to oppoſe by al meanes againſt the verefying of the Kings Edicts for the Proteſtants. Soone after enſued a generall rumor and terror of new maſſacres.

24 But amongſt many other points to be regarded in theſe Friars, the very multitude it ſelfe ſeemeth to mee to be one, not of the leaſt conſideration, if the Papacy being reduced to any termes of extreamity, ſhould reſolve to put them in armes for their finall refuge and ſuccour. The Franſciſcans alone in the time of *Sixtus Quintus*, the fellow and Father, are ſaid to have beene found by ſurvey to bee thirty thouſand: the Capuchins, a late branch of them, doe vaunt to be eight thouſand at this preſent. The Dominicans ſtrive in competency with the Franciſcans

in

in all things. The Iesuites being great statists, are withall, exceeding rich, and many: but for the greedinesse of wealth, and rare practises to get it, infamous in all places. The Carmelitanes and Augustines, have their hives in every garden, and every where swarme. The other orders of Friars and Monkes, being exceeding many, complaine not of paucitie in their severall professions. Some other Countries are found; but *Italy* thicke strowed with this kinde of people, whose number perhaps in the whole, may passe a million of men, of the which, one halfe at the least, either are, or would grow to be of lusty able bodies, not vnfit to be soone imployed in any warlike service: if the Pope having plaied away the rest of his policies, were brought to his last hand, to set vp his rest vpon those men, what should hinder him from raising huge armies of them in all places? their course of life, perhaps their vowes and professions, whereof himselfe hath the key to locke and open at pleasure, may breede vnwillingnesse of minde, or backwardnesse of such actions, which cannot be imagined to them that know their eagernesse of spirite, and consider withall, their standing with his estate, and falling with his ruine. Their vnaptnesse and other imposition of body, with fasting, watching, lying on the ground, enduring cold, exact keeping of orders and odedience to their commanders, ought rather to make them fit to all military discipline, the difficultie then of assembling them in such case together. Heere needs must I deliberate their excellency and exactnesse of their order and government, being such as needeth not yeelde to any. I know to that purpose, each other hath his generall residing at *Rome*, for the most part, to advise with the Pope, and to receive his direction from him, being men of great reputation and power, are chosen, though in shew indifferendy by all the Maisters, that is, Doctors of their order whatsoever: yet in election it is so finely and cunningly contrived, that the voices of *Italy* are farre predominant, even as in the e-

lection of the Pope, the Italian Cardinalls; ſo in their moderne generall counſells, the Italian Biſhops doe farre exceede all the reſt of Chriſtendome; that ſo the ſafety of the papall ſea, and the greatneſſe of *Rome*, may reſt aſſured.

Theſe Generalles have vnder them their Provincialles as lievtenants in every province or ſtate in chriſtendome. The Provincialles have vnder them the ſeverall Priors of Covents. And thoſe their companies. A commandement diſpatcht away: One from the Generall paſſeth roundly by the Provincialles to the Priors with all ſpeede, beeing received by the inferiours, they addreſſe themſelves to the performance; yea though it commaund them a voyage to *China* or *Peru*, without diſpute or delay they readily ſette forward. To argue or debate on their ſuperiors Mandates, were preſumption, prowde curioſitie to ſearch their reaſons; to detract or diſobey them, breach of vow, equall to ſacrilege; So that as in a well diſciplined army, the Generall guiding, the Souldiers follow; he commaunding, they obey, without further delay or queſtion: So thoſe have no other care than to performe with dexteritie, what Mandate ſoever their Generall in the plenitude of his authoritie ſhall addreſſe to them. This order, this diligence, this ſecrecie, this obedience, in a people that may wander without ſuſpition in all places, and finde good relief & aide in their paſſage, will anſwere the former obiection. To adde the good grace wherein they are generally with the vulgas; the meanes which they have to provide all things neceſſarie with their repoſitories of Reliques and ſilver Images, what with Church-plate and treaſure, wherein ſome of them are exceedingly rich, and daily increaſe, vnleſſe the world ſhould with generall conſent bend againſt them, it may be (if the times ſhould inforce ſuch imployment) they woulde be able (beeing aſſociated with ſuch friendes as they ſhould finde) to make a very ſtrong parte in all places for the Pope; eſpecially conſidering that theſe forces ſhould be then raiſed out of their enimies countries,

and

and so weaken them, as blood drawne out of their owne bodies. And that no man may deceive himselfe with that errour; That in these professors of peace, there is no humor of warre, that mindes wholy possessed with sweete contemplations, can imbrace no thought of bloody resolutions: let him but a little dive into the late French troubles, hee shall finde that the millitary companions of the leagues, were oftentimes even stuffed with Priests and Friars, tall men and resolute; hee shall finde that of these people, there have served (what in field, what in garrison) at one time, sufficient to have made a great army of themselves onely. He shall finde, that at *Orleance*, a Capuchin being expressly sent to that purpose by this Prior, went vp and downe the streetes with a woodden crosse, crying; Come forth good Christians, destroy the enemies of the Crosse of thy Saviour: and therewithall put to the sword at sundry times, sixe score of the reformed religion, vntill he left none remaining. Lastly, he may vnderstand, that more lately in *Paris*, some of them in their sermons have incited (not obscurely) to a new massacre, complaining that the body of the Realme is sorely diseased, being surcharged with corrupt humours, as not having beene let blood this five and twenty yeares, as it ought. To conclude, I conceive this farre of Friars, to be so great, (what in regard of their very multitude, what by reason of their deadly rage against their opposites) that it would be hard for any state to bring in the reformed religion, without discharging it selfe first of this difficultie and burthen. In *Germany* the first reformers of religion in this age, were Friars themselves, who being men of great marke and reckoning amongst their owne, drew their Covents & other troopes of their Order with them, & thereby set the rest in such amazemēts & stond, that the pope grew into a general great jelousie of them all, doubting their vniversall revolt from his obedience. In *England* they were with great pollicy and practise dissolved, before any innovation in religion

was mentioned, whereas to have done both together, had beene perhaps impoſſible. But firſt cleare preventing them of pretence of religion, and after finding their religion cleare ſtripped of that Patronage, they were more quietly minded, and this more quietly reformed. In *France* this King vpon that outrage againſt his perſon, ſmoked the Ieſuites out of his neſt, in moſt parts of his Kingdome. If he had done the like to the Dominicans, (a moſt potent and flouriſhing order in *Spaine* above all other) in revenge of the murther of *Henry* the third his predeceſſour, or if he would or could do it now to them, and to the Capuchins, (who at this day next to the Ieſuites, are of greateſt renowne in puniſhment of this late practiſe, ſo fortunately diſcovered, & ſo chaſtiſe the ſchooles alwaies, whē he took their ſchollers in ſo enormeous faults,) there were great hope for the reformed religion in time to prevaile, which is now preiudiced and perſecuted by theſe Friars, that hardly can it keepe foote on the ground, it hath thus much of the ſtrength which theſe religious orders do yeeld the papacy.

25 To this may be added the like invention of ſpirituall fraternities and companies, perhaps equalling, yea exceeding in number the very orders of friars: in which, vnder the protection, and in honour of ſome Saint, or of any other holy man or religious Miniſter, and oftentimes annexing themſelves to ſome of the orders of Friars, the lay people of all ſorts, both men and women, both ſingle and married, doe inrole themſelves into one or more of theſe ſocieties, approaching ſo much neerer to the ſtate of the Clergy, vnto which ſundry of them are no other then annexaries and appertenances, whereby, as they tie thēſelves to the orders of them, conſiſting in certaine extraordinary devotions & profeſſions, bearing alſo at certaine times ſome badge of their company: So are they made partakers of all ſuch ſpirituall prerogatives, either by partnerſhip in other Churches, merites, or intereſt in ſundry indulgences, ſome halfe plenary, ſome whole, ſome for the time paſt, ſome before hand for ſundry years to come, and chief-

ly for the avoiding or ſpeedy diſpatch out of purgatory, as the Pope or his predeceſſors, for the incouragement and comfort of the Chriſtian people in their devotion & charity, have thought good to grant vnto them. Theſe fraternities are not yet growne into any great requeſt in other places, howbeit in *Italy* they have ſo multiplied, that few (eſpecially of that vulgar and middle ſort of men, who affect any reputation of devotion) but have entred into ſome one of them, and ſundry into many: the aſſurance of whom vnto Papacy, muſt needs be doubled, ſince love groweth according to the proportion of hope.

26 Now come I to the laſt rank of the Roman pollicies, aranged againſt their profeſſed & feared enemies, whereby they both ſeeke to reenter where they have been diſſeiſed, and practiſe, as wel for the waſting away of their oppoſites where they are, as for ſhutting them and their doctrine out where yet they have not beene. I will not heere exemplifie vpon things manifeſt and ordinary, being high waies, ſo plaine, that a guide were needleſſe; their perſecutions, confiſcations, tortures, burnings, ſecret murthers, generall maſſacres, exciting of inward ſeditions & outward hoſtility againſt their adverſaries, their oppreſſing & debaſing of thē where themſelves are the ſtronger, are things whereof they were none of the inventors, though perhaps the commendation of the exact refining of them, of ſtraining them to their higheſt note of ſedulity & perſeverance, putting them in execution, may be more due & proper to them then to any other: neither yet will I meddle greatly with their Art of ſlandering their oppoſites, of diſgracing their perſons, miſreporting their actions, falſifying their doctrine and poſitions, (things wherwith their pulpits do daily ſound, & their writings ſwell againe.) But they are not the firſt, neither that have run this blacke courſe no more then the former red: others have done it before them; yea the buying of mens cōſciences, by propoſing reward to ſuch as ſhall relinquiſh the proteſtant religion and turne to theirs, as in *Auſburie*,

where

where they ſay there is a knowne price for it, of ten florence a yeare. In *France*, where the Clergy have made contributions for the maintenance of runnagate Miniſters, is a deviſe alſo freſh and of eaſie conceit. I will rather inciſt vpon their inventions leſſe criminal, and more worthy to be regarded. A wonderfull thing it is to conſider the great diverſitie of humours or tempers of minde, which this age hath produced in this one point wee ſpeake of, touching the meanes of growing onward vpon the adverſary part. A ſort of men there liveth in the world at this day, whoſe leaders (whether vpon extreamity of hatred toward the Church of *Rome*, or vpon ſelfe-liking and ſingularitie to value their owne wittes and deviſes) did cut out in ſuch ſort, their reformation of religion, as not onely in all outward religious ſervices and ceremonies in government and Church diſcipline, doe ſtrive to bee as vnlike the Papacy as was poſſible: but even in very lawfull pollicies, for the advantaging and advancing of their part, doe diſdaine to ſeeme to bee imitators to them, whom they ſo much abhorred, much like a ſtowt-harted, ſelfe-witted Captaine, who ſcornes to imitate any ſtratageme before vſed by the enemie, though the putting of it in exploit, might give him aſſured victory: Neither doe theſe mens ſchollers as yet one whit degenerate; yea perhaps that diſeaſe (if I may ſo cenſure it) hath tainted, in ſome degree, all the proteſtant party, who never could finde the meanes in all this age, to aſſemble a generall Counſell of all their ſide for the compoſing of their differences, and ſetting order in their proceedings, for want I muſt confeſſe of ſome oportunities, but of a great deale of zeale alſo in their governors, (as to mee it ſeemeth) neither yet have they in any one of all their Dominions, erected any colledge of more contemplative perſons, to confront and oppoſe againſt the Ieſuites, but have left this weighty burthen of cleering the controverſies, of perfecting the ſciences, of anſwering the adverſaries writings, (of exceeding huge travell)

vell)either vpon their ordinarie Ministers to be performed at times of leisure from their office of preaching,(and then is it done accordingly) or vpon such as in Vniversities, having some larger scope, shall willingly and of their owne accord vndertake it. For sometime whereas on the contrarie side,the Papacie seemeth to me, verie diligently and attentively to have considered and weyed,by what meanes chiefly their adverse part hath grown so fast,beyond either their owne expectation, or the feare of their enemies, as in lesse then an age,to have worne perhaps the moitie of their Empire from them. And those very meanes themselves to have resolved hence-forwards to apply, one strong practise on their side also,that so, as by a countermine,they may either blow vp the mindes of their adversaries, or at leastwise give them scope from any further proceeding, like a politike Generall, who holdeth it the greatest wisdome to out-goe his enemies in their owne devices, and the greatest valour to beate him at his owne weapons. I will not here presume to presse in with my determination vppon this great difference and question, although it seemie to mee, to be no other then a plaine quarell,betweene stomack,and discretion,a small deale of wisdome me thinke might decide it,especially considering that all good things are from God, though they be found in his very enimy:and whatsoever is not vniust(being vsed in a good cause)is good.

27 the first and chiefe meanes,wherby the reformed religion prevaild in all places, was their singular assiduitie and dexteritie in preaching,especially in great Cities,and Pallaces of Princes,wherby the people(being ravished with the love and admiration of that light which so brightly shined vnto them,as men with the Sun,who are newly drawne frō dungeon)readily folowed those,who caried so faire a lamp before thē. Hereto may be added their publishing of treatises of vertue,of pietie,of spirituall exercises and devotions, which ingendred a firme perswasion of the minds of men; that the soile must be found,pure, and good, from whence

ſo ſweet, wholeſome, and heavenly fruits proceed. Now although the opinions of the Papacy, and of a great part of the reformed religion be as oppoſite herein, well-nie as hot and cold, as light and darknes; the one approving no devotion ſevered from vnderſtanding, the other thinking the vnderſtanding to be a means, rather to divert and daſſe the devotion, then to direct and cheriſh it. And for preaching in like ſort, the *French* Proteſtants making it an eſſentiall and chiefe part of the ſervice of God, whereas the Romaniſts make the Maſſe only a worke of duty, & the going to Sermons but a matter of conveniency, & ſuch as is left free to mens leaſures and oportunities, without imputation or ſin: yet in regard of the great ſway which they have learned by their loſſe that thoſe cary, in the drawing of mens minds & affections, they have indevoured in all places in both thoſe kinds, to equall, yea and ſurmount their adverſaries. For although in multitude of preachers they greatly come ſhort, (being an exerciſe wherein the ſecular prieſts liſt not to diſtemper their braines much, but cõmend it in a maner wholy to their regulars & friers) and theſe (thinking the cõtrarie capacities to blockiſh, or otherwiſe not worth beſtowing ſo great coſt on) do imploy th ẽſelves wholy in cities & other places of great reſort, all which they have great care to have competently furniſhed: yet in the choiſe of them whõ they ſend out to preach, in the diligence and paines which they take in their ſermõs, in the ornamẽts of eloquence & grace of action in their ſhew of piety & reverence towards God, of zeal towards the truth, of love towards his people, which evẽ with their teares can often teſtifie, they watch their adverſaries in the beſt, and in the reſt far exceed thẽ. But herein the *Ieſuites* carry the bell from all other, having attained the cõmendations, & working th effect of perfect orators: And of thoſe beſides, certaine drawn yerely by order from their generall reſiding at *Rome*: their choiſe preachers are by lot ſent abroad amongſt Infidels and heretiks; at Lent in eſpecial they are ſent out, one in each citie in *Italie*, which

yearly

yearly change, and the custom of *Italie* is for the same man to preach every day in the lent without intermission (if their strength dot serve them) so as sixe dayes in the weeke to preach on the Gospel of the dayes, and on the Saterday, in honor and praise of our Lady; so in every yeerely change there is the delight of varietie, & in the daily continuing of the same, the admiration of industry. Some such like course it is to be thought, that the *Iesuites* hold also in other Countries, their proiects being certaine and exactly perswaded. But wonderfull is the reputation which redounds thereby to their order, and exceeding the advantage which it giveth to their side; for bookes of praier and pietie, all countries are ful of them at this day, in their owne language, to stoppe, in part, the out-crie of their adversaries against them, for imprisoning the people wholy in those darke devotions, and especially to win the love of the world vnto them, by this more inward and lively shew of sanctitie & godlines. Yea, herein they conceive to have so farre surpassed their opposites, that they forbeare not to reproch vnto them their povertie, weaknes, & coldnes, in that kind, as being forced to take the Catholikes books to supply theirs, which as in this it cannot altogither be denied to be true; so on the other side, it had bin greatly to be wished, that these books of the Christian Resolution & exercise, had bin the fruits of conscience, rather then the wits of those that made them, which in some of them, as father *Parsons* by name, have bin otherwise, besides the rest of his actions vnsuitable to those resolutions. Some of them also more zealous in their way, have not forborne to cõfesse, that by performing so good works with a good mind, to a good end, & conforming their own lives & demeanors accordingly, they might have prepared mens minds to an hope of a through reconciliation, whereas now, by vsing holines it selfe for a meere instrument of practise, & to win men to their party, they cannot but drive the world into such a laborinth of perplexities & ielousies, as to suspect always their policies and despaire of their honesties.

28 A ſecond thing whereby the Proteſtant part hath ſo greatly enlarged it ſelfe, hath beene, their well educating of youth, ſpecially in the principles of Chriſtian Religion and pietie, wherein their care and continuance, is even at this day in many places very worthily to be commended of all, and imitated by them, who hitherto have bin more remiſſe in education of youth, & ſowing in thoſe pure minds, ſeedes of vertue and truth, before the weedes of the world do rancor and change the ſoile; being by the conſent of the moſt renowmed wiſe men of the world, a point of incomparable force and moment, for the well ordering and governing of all kind of ſtates, and for the making of Common-weales ever happie and flouriſhing. And as good education is the preſervation of a good ſtate, ſo al kind of education cõforming to the lawes and cuſtoms in being, doth vphold ſtates in the termes wherein they are. The firſt ſeaſoning with opinions and accuſtomances whatſoever, being of double force to any ſecond perſwaſions and vſages not comprising herein thoſe nimble and quick-ſilvered braines which itch after change, liking in their opinions, as in their garments, to be noted to be followers of outlandiſh faſhions, as being of a more refined and ſublimated temper, then that their Country conceits can ſatiſfie. Herein then the Papacie being taken ſhort by the proteſtants (even as in the former) and mightily overrunne ere they were aware thereof: notwithſtanding, as difficulties do rather kindle then daunt the generous ſpirits, and adde that to their diligence, which was wanting in their timelines; ſo theſe men have beſtird themſelves ſo well therein, to follow the trace which their adverſaries had led them, that in fine they have in ſome ſort out-gone them in it, and quoted them in all, one onely excepted, that they reſpect not much the inſtruction of their childrē of the meaner ſort, as being likely to ſway little, whereas the Proteſtants ſeeme in religious inſtruction indifferent to both. But for the reſt, what is it they have omitted, what Colledges for their owne, what Seminaries for ſtran-

gers,

gers, to ſupport and perpetuate their factions and practiſes in their enimies dominions? have they not inſtituted almoſt in all partes in chriſtendome, and maintaine ſtill at their owne and their favorites charge? It is a ſmall brag that ſome of their ſide doe make, that their Engliſh Seminaries abroade ſend foorth more Prieſts, than our two vniverſities at home do Miniſters. Behold alſo the Ieſuites, the great Clearkes, Polititians, and Orators of the worlde, who vaunt that the Church is the ſoule of the worlde, the Cleargie of the Church, and they of the Cleargie do ſtoop alſo to this burthen, and require it to be charged wholy vpon their ſhoulders, in all places whereſoever they can plant their neaſts, their open free ſchooles for all ſtudies of humanitie. To theſe flocke the beſt wittes, and principall mens ſonnes in ſo great abundance, that whereſoever they ſettle, other Colledges become deſolate, or frequented onlie by the baſer ſort, or thoſe of the heavier mettall. And in trueth ſuch is their diligence and dexteritie in inſtructing, that even the Proteſtants themſelves (in ſome places) ſend their ſonnes to their Schooles, vppon deſire to have them proove excellent in thoſe Artes they teach; beſides, being in trueth but a baite and allurement whereunto to faſten their finall and principall hooke, they plant in their Scholers with great exactneſſe and skill the coates of their religion, and nouriſh them with an extreame hatred and deteſtation of the adverſe partie. And to make them for ever intractable to any contrary perſwaſion, they worke into them by great cunning and obſtinacie of minde, and ſturdie eagreneſſe of ſpirite, to effect victorie with all violence of wit in all their converſions, than which no greater enimie to the finding out of the trueth (which beeing pure and ſingle in his owne nature) and author, appeareth not (but to a cleere & ſincere vnderſtanding) whom neyther the fumes of firie paſſion do miſt, nor ſiniſter reſpects or preiudices ſway downe on either ſide, from the pitch of iuſt integritie; neither thinke I anie vnfitter ſort of men in

the world to be imployed in the contemplation and search of trueth, than these hote men and headdie, who being fo-daine in their actions, seize lightly on that which commeth first to hand; and being stiffe in their resolution, are transported with every prendicate conceit, from one errour to another, having neither the patience they should, to weigh all points diligently, nor the humilitie to yeelde vppe their owne fancies to reason; neither yet that high honourable wisedome as to know, that Trueth being the marke they professe to strive at in the overthrowe of their errors, they attaine the summe of their desires, and remain conquerors, by being conquered: yea sundry times have I seene twoo eagre disputers loose the trueth, and let it fall to the ground betweene them, which a calme minded hearer hath taken vp and possessed.

But these Iesuites (presuming perhappes of the trueth before hand, and labouring no other thing than the advaunceing of the partie) indevor (as I saide) by all meanes, to imbreade that fiercenesse and obstinacie in their Schollers, as to make them hote prosecuters of their owne opinions, impatient and intractable of any contrary considerations, as having their eies fixt vpon nothing, but onelie victory in arguing, for which cause (to strengthen in them those passions by exercise) I have seene them in their bare Grammaticall Disputations, enflame their Schollers with such earnestnesse and fiercenesse, as to seeme to be at the poyne of flying each into others face, to the amazement of those strangers which had never seene the like before, but to their owne great content and glorie as appeered. Over and aboveal this, they have instituted in their schooles a speciall fraternity, a congregation of our Ladie, with certaine select exercises and devotions, into which (it being a reputation to be admitted) it must cause (in congruitie) the forwardest of their Schollers, to fashion themselves by all meanes as to content their humors, and so to be received (in shew) into a degree of more honourable estima-

tion (but in truth) into no other than a double bond of assurance.

I shall not needeto insert here their singular diligence, and cunning, in inticing (not seldome) the most noble of their Schollers, oftentimes the most adorned with the graces of nature and industrie (especially if they have anie likelihoode of wealthie succession) to abandon their frinds and to professe their Order (a thing daily practised in all places by them) yea whersoever they espie anie one of rare spirite, they will be tempering with him, though hee be the onely son and solace of his father, whereby (though they drawe on them much clamor and stomacke, yet doe they greatly thereby enhaunce the renowne of their societie, by furnishing it with so many persons of excellent qualitie or nobilitie, whom afterwardes they imploy with great iudgement, as they finde them fittest. Neither yet do they heere make an end with this parte, but this Order hath also their solempne catechising in their Churches on Sondays and Holidays, for all youth that will come, or can be drawne vnto it, that in no point the diligence of their adversaries may vpbraide them: But this point of their Schooles and instructing youth, is thought of such moment by men of wisedome and iudgement (beeing taught so by verie experience and triall thereof) that the planting of a good Colledge of Iesuites in any place, is esteemed the onely sure waie to replant that religion, and in time to eate out the contrary. This course holde they in all *Germanie*, in *Savoy*, and in other places, and the excluding it from *Fraunce* is infinitely regretted; and that which makes them vncertaine what will become of that kingdome.

29 A third course that much advantageth the Protestants proceeding, was their offers of disputations with their adversaries in all places, their iterated and importunate sutes for politique audience and iudgement, a thing which greatly assured the multitude of their soundnesse whom they saw so confident in abiding the hazard of trial,

being

being that, whereof the want is the only preiudice of truth, and the plentie the onely discoverie and ruine of falshood: they standing in like termes, as a substantiall iust man, and a facing shifter, whereof the ones credite is greatest there, where he is best knowne, and the other where he is least. And by reason the Romanists were not so cunning then in the questions, nor so readie in their evasions and distinctions, as they are now growne, the effect of these disputations (whether receved or refused) was in most places such, as to draw with them an immediate alteration of religion. Hereto may be added those admirable paines, which those first reformers vndertooke and performed, in translating the Scriptures forthwith into all languages, in illustrating all partes thereof with ample Comments; in addressing Institutions of Christian religion; in deducing large histories of the Church, from the foundation of these present times; in furnishing all common places of divinitie with abundance of matter; in exact discussing of al controversed questions: and lastly, in speedie replie to all contrary writings, the greatest part of these labours tending to the iustifying of their owne doctrine, and to the discoverie of the corruption and rottennes of the other, that they might overbeare these with the streames of the evidence of Reason, by the strength of whose power they complained, to be overborne. There is scarce any one of these kindes of writings, (save the translating of the Bible into vulgar language) wherein the Romanists have not alreadie, or are not like very shortly, eyther to equall, or to exceede their adversaries in multitude of workes, as being more of them that apply those studies in diligence, as having much more oportunitie and leasure in exactnes, as comming after them and reaping the fruits of their travels, though in truth they come short, and in ingeniositie being Truths companion: But as for the controversies themselves, the maine matter of all other therein, their industrie is at this day incomparable, having so altered the tenures of them, refined the

states,

ſtares, ſubtilized the diſtinctions, ſharpened their owne proofes, deviſed certaine, either anſwers or evaſions already reſolved on; for all their adverſaries argoments, allegations, and replies; yea they have differences to divert their ſtrongeſt oppoſitions, interpretations to allude the plaineſt text in the worlde; circumſtances and conſiderations, to inforce their owne feebleſt coniectures; yea reaſons to putte life into their deadeſt abſurdities: as in particular a very faire caſe in ſchoole learning and proportions, to iuſtifie their Popes graunts of many ſcore thouſand yeeres pardon, that in affiãce of this furniture, & of their promptneſſe of ſpeech and witte (which by continuall exercife they aſpire to perfect) they dare enter into combate even with the beſt of their oppugnors, and will not doubt, either to intangle them ſo in the ſnares of their own quirks, or at leaſtwiſe ſo putte off his blowes, with the wardes of their diſtinctions, that an ordinary Auditor ſhall never perceive them to be vanquiſhed, and a favorable and ordinary Auditory ſhall repute them vanquiſhers. Whereupon now to be quitte with their adverſaries, and by the very ſame Arte to drawe away the multitude, crie mainely in all places for triall by diſputations. This *Campion* did many yeeres ſince with vs. This, as I paſſed through *Turricke* did the Cardinall *Andrea* of *Conſtance*, and his Ieſuites with their Miniſters, being by auntient right within his Dioces, not long before the ſame was done to them of *Geneua*. And verie lately the Capuchins renued the chalenge, in which partes I obſerve this diſcreete valour on both ſides: that as the Romaniſts offer to diſpute in the adverſaries owne Cities, which they know their Magiſtrates will never accord; ſo the Miniſters in ſupplie thereof, offer to goe to them to their Cities, and that is nowe as much diſliked on the other ſide, each part being contented that the fire ſhoulde bee kindled rather in his enemies houſe then in his owne: yea there are not wanting ſome temperers amongeſt them, that have beene talking a long

ſo contrarie, ſo furious, ſo maledicent, and ſo ſlovenly ſpirites, wherein, as they doe in ſome ſorte immitate their adverſaries, ſo yet with this difference, that the one hath obiected that which either (as being the approoved doctrine of their Church) was with publique authoritie delivered to the people, or elſe, which was ſo vſuall amongeſt their Canoniſts and cleargie, as might pleade vncontrolled cuſtome to ſhew it lawfull, whereas the other parte finding very ſmall ſtore of that nature, have ranne for ſupply to every particular mans writings, wherein ſo huge a multitude of authors and works as this age over-rancke therein, and mens fingers ever itching have produced, it had bin ſurely a great myracle, if they had not found matter enough, eyther worthy to be blamed, or eaſie to be depraved in their enimies writings: One of the moſt renowmed Sages and Fathers of the Auntients having found ſo much to condempne and retract in his owne. And if the Proteſtantes ſhould liſt to requite them in that kinde, they might perhaps finde ſtuffe enough (I wil not ſay to lade an Argoſie) but to overlade any mans witte in the worlde to reply vnto. But verily theſe courſes are baſe and beggarly, even when ſingleneſſe of minde and truth doth concurre with them: And far vnworthy of an ingenious and noble ſpirit, which ſoareth vppe to the higheſt and pureſt paths of veritie, diſdaining to ſtand raking in theſe puddles of obſcuritie, vnworthie of that charitable and vertuous minde which ſtriveth by doing good to all, to attaine to the high honour of being an immitator of God, who is ſorie of thoſe verie faults which are in his enimies, & diſcloſes them no further than is neceſſarie, either for defence of impugned trueth, or for warning to the world to avoid the contagion of the diſeaſe, or ſeducement by the diſeaſed. But if to this baſenes of diſcoveries other iuſtice be alſo added, if malice doe preferre them, if ſleight increaſe them, if falſhoode and ſlaunder taint them, then doe they not onely abuſe men from the dignitie of their nature, but even aſſociate them

with

with the foule enimy and calumniator therof, whose name is the slaunderous accuser of his brethren. I suppose there was never man so patient in the world (that patterne of all perfection, our Savior Christ excepted) but if a man should heape together the all cholericke speeches, all the wayward actions that ever scaped from him in his life, and present them in one view all continuate together (as is the fashion of some men) it would present him for a furious and raving bedlam, whom displaying all his life in the same tenor it was led, the whole world might well count of his stayednesse, and admire for his moderation and magnanimitie. They that observe nothing in wisemen of virtue, but their faults and imperfections (from which neither the wisest nor perfectest have beene free, what doe they but propose them as matter of scorne, and abhorring whome God hath as it were marked out for patternes of honor to immitate? Yea this age hath brought out those curst and these accursed wittes, who by culling out the errours, and shews of error, by formalizing the contrarieties, misinterpreating the ambiguities, intangling the obscurities, which in the most renowmed Authours for humane wisedome that were ever in the world, their envious and malitiously fine braines could search (immitating him therein, who by his Labours of the very same nature, though with lesse and no ground at all against the sacred Bible, purchased the infamous name of the enemy of Christianitie) have doone that hurt vnto the studies of learning, which nothing but the vtter extinguishing of their vnlearned works can expiate.

31. The last means I wil here speak of, were vsed in setting forward this reformation of religion, was the diligent compiling the histories of those times and actions, and especially the Martyrologie of such as rendered by their deaths, a testimonie of that trueth which was persecuted in them: These memories and stories presenting generally to the world, the singleneſſe and innocencie on the one part,

to defend, or at leaſtwiſe the commiſeration of humane infirmitie to excuſe them, yet were they not ſo waſhed away from the mindes of the people, who could not conceive this houſe to have beene guided by the ſpirite of God, wherein they ſawe ſo manie foule ſpirites of pride, and hypocriſie, of lying and deceyving, to have borne ſo great office ſo long, and without controlement. Theſe thinges being perceived by the favourites of the Papacie, to have made ſo deepe impreſſion in the minds of all men, and to have greatly preiudiced them in their more plauſible allegations, mens hearts being alreadie taken vp and fraught with deteſting them, they caſt about for revenge and redreſſe in the ſame kinde, not as the plaine blunt Proteſtants who finding all his matters made readie to his handes, beſtowed no other coſt, but the collecting and ſetting it in ſome order togither; but like a ſupernaturall Artiſan, who in the ſublimitie of his refined, and refining witte, diſdaines to bring onely meere Arte to his worke, vnleſſe hee make alſo in ſome ſort the verie matter it ſelfe. So theſe men in blacking the lives and actions of the reformers, have partly deviſed matter of ſo notorious vntruth, that in the better ſort of their owne Authours it happeneth to bee checked, partly ſeborned other Poſt men to write their Legends, that afterwardes they might cite them as approoved Authours and Hiſtories, as is evident in the lives of *Calvine*, and *Beza*, written by their ſworne enemie *Boſſacke*, the twiſe baniſhed, and thrice runnagate Frier, and Phiſition, for thoſe names his often chaunges and hard chaunces have given him. This man being requeſted by their ſide to write thus, is in all their writings alledged as Canonicall. But in this kinde, ſurely me thinkes the conditions of thoſe parties are to be vnequall; for the Proteſtant whatſoever he ſaith, either in impeaching, his adverſarie, or clearing his owne actions, vnleſſe hee can directly proove out of the adverſaries owne writinges, it is with them as nothing, and no

better than as are *teſtes domeſtice* in the lawe, whereas the Romaniſt whatſoever he ſlaunderouſly ſurmiſeth, vnleſſe the other partie be able, by direct proofe to diſproove it, (which beeing to iuſtifie in the negative, is alwayes very difficult, and for the moſt parte impoſſible) he triumphs as in a matter of trueth, not to be gainſaide. And whoſoever maketh this account, that in theſe kinde of blowes, even where the wound is cured, the ſcarre lightly continueth. At this preſent they give it out, that they have a book in hand of the lives of the Miniſters of *England*; wherein it were to be wiſhed, that ſome, who by their diſſolutenes & corruption, have given occaſion of offence againſt the order it ſelfe, might by their exemplarie puniſhment withall expiate the reproach, though at theſe mens hands, who in diſgrace of our Prelates, have cited *Marprelate* in their late bookes for a great Author and witnes, and others of like and leſſe indifferencie and honeſtie: the innocent and culpable are to exſpect perhappes like meaſure. Then for the meaſure and doctrine of the Proteſtants, the books of ſome of our owne Countrymen, beſides many other, are famous, who have taken a roile (how meritorious GOD knoweth) ſurely very laborious, out of infinite huge Volumes which that parte hath written to picke out whatſoever (eſpecially ſevered from the reſt) may ſeeme to be either abſurdely, or falſly, or fondly, or ſcandalouſly, or diſhoneſtly, or paſſionately, or ſluttiſhly, conceived or written, for even in that kinde, having the advantage of the homely phraſe of our Country, and namely in thoſe times they have not ſpared, and theſe with their croſſeneſſe, and contradictions one of another ſet cunningly together, they preſent to the view of the world, and demaund whether it be likely that theſe men ſhould have bin choſen extraordinarily by God, to be the reformers of the church, and treaſurers of his truth, who beſides their vitious lives and hatefull conditions in their more ſober thoughts, and very doctrine it ſelfe, were poſſeſſed with ſo fantaſticall, ſo wilde,

while (whether out of their owne dreames, or out of the desires of greater persons, which I halfe coniecture) of a generall solemne conference to be sought and procured, of the choyse and chiefe everie way of both the sides, vnder pretence of drawing matters to some tollerable composition: But in truth (as I conceived) rather to over-beare and disgrace the contrarie cause, with their varietie of engins, and strength of witte to weild them at all assayes at pleasure, than vpon sinceritie of affection, or probabilitie of any vnitie or peace to ensue; so great is their hope of having cure by the weapons, from whence heretofore they have had their wounds.

30 A fourth way that mightily afflicts the Papacie, and consequently advaunce the reformation and her proceedings, was a course in my opinion, surely more excusable, where it cannot, than commendable where it can be spared: and that is the discoverie of the private blottes of an enimie further then the question in hand doth constraine, howsoever the Protestants (at leastwise some of them) by example of those ancient and reverent Orators ripped vp to the quicke, the lives of their adversaries in their particular actions, especially of their Popes, and of their Prelates, as also of their Votaries of all sortes, and sexes, wherein the store of matter was huge, the qualitie of it so enormous, loathsome, vgly, and matchable in all kind of villanie, to the veriest monsters of the Heathen, the persons defiled with it, of so imminent place in the steering and vpholding of their Church: and lastly of the vntruth thereof, so vndoubted and certaine, being drawne in times past out of their owne stories and Authors, printed and approoved amongst themselves to be true, for that present, being of things done ordinarily for the most part, and openly in the sight of all men in *Rome*, and in *Italie*, (even as they continue perhappes not much better in many things at this day,) that publishing and presenting it to the prepared mindes of the worlde, besides an

extreame

extreame horrour and detestation which it brought, did worke in them this perswasion also, that it could not bee but Hell gates had prevailed against that Sea, whose Governours, whose Prelates, whose Priestes, whose Virgines, had lived most of them so long time in the iawes of the Prince of Hell: Neither that it was improbable they had beene carefull in persecuting the doctrine of Christianitie, who had beene careleſse of all partes of Christian life and honestie. And as in their lives, so in their writings also, of doctrine and devotion, and in the actions concerning them; their deifying of the Pope with most impious flatterie; their abusing of the Scriptures, with all irreverence and prophaneneſse; their iugling with their Images, to make them sweate, weepe, and bleede, to raise in the people a devotion towardes them of Heathenish Idolatrie; their forging of Miracles, in exorcisms, in cures, in apparition of soules for their lucre and advauntage, their graunting of Pardons for some prayers before Images, for manie thousand yeares; their Pardon for sinnes to come before they bee committed; their shameleſse vendiculous tales of our Sauiour, and the holy and blessed Saintes, making marriages here vpon earth, betweene him and some of our women Saintes, with infinite store of childish vanitie and sottish absurditie, (as to their adversaries) though themselves seemed (I must confesse) to conceive otherwise of them, some of their graver Doctors both preaching them in Pulpet, and publishing them newely in eleberate and ample Histories; their promising to the vse of certaine devotions to our Ladie, to have a sight of her sometime before their dying dayes, adding to this and much more, their falsifying and forgeries in all matters of antiquities, thrusting in, cutting out, suppressing truth suborning fained writings, as their turnes ende require; all which, though beeing obiected in this sort to themselves, they had either their allegations of good intent,

parte, the integritie of their lives, the ſimplicitie of their deviſes, the zeale of their deſires, their conſtancie in temptations, their tolleration in torments, their magnanimitie & celeſtially inſpired courage and comfort in their very agonies and death, yeelding their bodies with all patience to the furious flames, and their ſoules with ioy to the handes of him that made them. On the other ſide, repreſenting a ſerpentine generation wholy made of fraude, policies, and practiſes, men lovers of the world, and haters of truth and godlineſſe, fighters againſt the light, protectors of darkeneſſe, perſecuters of marriage, and patrons of brothelles, abnegators and diſpencers againſt the lawes of God, but tyrannous importunators, and exactors of their own men, falſe in their promiſes, treacherous in their pretences, barbarous in their executions, breathing nothing but cruelty, fire and ſword againſt men that never offended them, ſave in their deſire to amend them, which they could not endure (and much of this ſette out in ſundry places with pictures, to imprint thereby a more lively ſence of commiſeration of the one parte, and deteſtation of the other) bred in mens minds a ſtrong conceit, that on the one ſide Trueth and Innocencie was perſecuted, on the other, violence and deceit perſecuted, that the one part, contrary to all humane probabilitie, being noriſhed with the only deaw of divine benediction, floriſht in the flames; & as camamile, ſpreade abroad, being troad vnder feet; the other, notwithſtanding all humane and infernall deviſes, yet curſed ffom above, faded, not vnlike to come to rume. The Papacie beeing netled extreamly with theſe proceedings, hath reſolv'd to give over the kindling any more of thoſe vnfortunate fiers (ſave in ſome ſecure places, to maintaine the vſage of that lawe) the aſhes of which they have perceived to have beene the ſeede of their adverſaries, but rather by ſecret making men away in their Inquiſitions, and by general maſſacres to extinguiſh them. Then to affront them in the ſame kinde of Martyrologies and Hiſtories they have firſt cauſed ſtories

to

to be written also in their favor, making in them a representation of authority, and iustice proceeding by politique execution of law, in the necessary defence of Gods Church, and of all Catholike States and Princes, against a company of base rebelles, of vow-breaking-Friars, of Church-robbing polititians, & Church-raising souldiers, of infected, and infecting, both schismatiques and heretiques, innovators of orders, vnderminers of government, troublers of states, over-turners of Christendome; against whom, if they have not yet sufficiently prevailded, it is to be attributed onely to the force of popular fury, and not to any strength and goodnesse of their cause, much lesse to any celestiall and divine protection. Next, for Martyrologies, they have *England* for their field to triumph in, the proceedings wherein against their late Papists and complices, they aggravate to the height of *Neroes* and *Diocle-sians* persecutions, and the sufferers of their side, both in merites of cause, in extreamity of torments, & in constancy and patience to the renowned Martyres of that heroicall Church age, whereof (besides sundry other bookes) they have published a great volume lately to the world in Italian, compiled with great industry, appproved by authority: yea some of their bookes are passages also with pictures illustrated: in sum, wanting nothing save only truth and sincerity. An easie thing it is without growing to the extreame impudency of palpable lying, by leaving out the bad on the one side, and the good on the other, by inforcing and flourishing all circumstances and accidents which are in our favour; and by elevating and disgracing of all the contrary, by sprinkeling the termes of honour wholy on the one part, and of hatred and ignomie on the other, to make the tale turne which way shall please the teller. But writers of histories should know, that there is a difference betweene their profession and the practise of advocates, pleading contrary at the barre, where the wisedome of the Iudge, pickes the truth out of both sides,

which is intire perhappes in neither.

32 And verily in this kinde, both the Proteſtants and Papiſts ſeeme generally in the greateſt part of their ſtories, to be both too blame, thogh both not equally; having by their paſſionate reports much wronged the truth, abuſed this preſent age, and preiudiced poſterity: inſomuch, that the onely remedy now ſeeming to remaine, is, to reade indifferently the ſtories on both parts, to count them as advocates and to play the Iudge betweene them. But partiality ſeemeth to be the chiefe fault of the Proteſtant, love and diſlike ſometimes dazeling his eyes, and drawing him from an Hiſtoriographers into an Oratours profeſſion, though ſome of them have carried themſelves therein with commendable ſincerity, even as ſome alſo of the other part have diſcharged themſelves nobly. But ſurely the Prieſts and Friars which have written in that kinde, have ſtrangely behaved themſelves, and diſcloſed how ſmall reckoning they make of truth in any thing, their deviſing, their forging, their facing, their preaſing, their adding, their palting, having brought, not onely their modeſty, but their wits alſo in queſtion, whether they forget not what it was they vndertooke to write, a worke of ſtory, or of poetry rather, which Arts though like, yet (ought they to know) are different. And for theſe Martyrologies, to ſpeake of *England* as they doe, (let the truth of religion be indifferent on whether ſide) vnleſſe difference be made betweene men, who ſuffer for their conſciences onely, their very adverſaries having no other crime to obiect againſt them, and thoſe who either in their owne particular perſons, or at leaſtwiſe in their directors, whom they have choſen to follow, and vowed to obey, are convinced to have attempted againſt the Prince and State, and to have practiſed the alteration and ruine of both. If no difference be to be made betweene theſe mens ſufferings, let all things be alike, let the perſecuting of the ſheepe and the hunting of woolves be one. But enough, and too much perhappes of

theſe

these comparisons and imitations.

33 I will ioyne onely hereto their pollicy of newes, for some kinde of resemblance it hath with the former. It could not (I must confesse) settle in my conceit of a long time, that men of their wisedome, so well furnished with better meanes, should descend to that base and vaine devise of inventing and spreading false newes in their favour, being an odious kinde of abusing the world; and such also as in the end, being choaked with the truth, redoundes to the deepe disgrace and discredite of the Authors, being accounted no other then the trick of a bankerupt. Howbeit, finding by experience that this is frequent amongst them in other places: at *Rome* above all other, it was almost their ordinary practise; from whence, during the time of my abode in *Italy*, (besides other lesse memorable) there came first solemne newes, that the Patriarks of *Alexandria*, with all the great Church of *Affrica*, had by their Ambassadours submitted and reconciled themselves to the Pope, and received from his holinesse absolution and benediction, there being no such matter as I learned afterwards of a great Bishop, who hath particular acquaintance and intelligence with that Patriarke. Another time that the King of Scots amongst many acts worthy a Christian Prince, had chased away the Ministers, yea and executed two of them, confiscating their goods, and bestowing them vpon the Catholikes, which newes was soone after recalled from the same place. Not long after that, *Beza* the Arch-heretike, and *Calvine* his successour, drawing towards his death, had in full Senate at *Geneva*, recanted his religion, exhorting them, that if they had care to save their soules, to seeke reconciliation with the Catholike Church, and to send for the Iesuites to instruct them. Whereupon, both himselfe by speciall commission from the Pope, was absolved by the Bishop of *Geneva* ere hee died, and the Citie had sent an ambassage of submission: the beginning of which newes it was my chance to heare,

as being whiſpered among the Ieſuites two months before it brake out. But when once it was advertiſed ſo ſolemnly from *Rome*, it ranne over all Chriſtendome, and in *Italy* was ſo verily beleeved to be true, that there were, as is ſaid, who rode on very purpoſe to ſee thoſe Ambaſſadours of *Geneva*, yet inviſible. And to make vp the full meaſure of that worthy pollicy, being afterwards at *Lions*, and vnderſtanding that the Poſte of *Rome*, who then paſſed by for *Spaine*, gave confidently out; that hee left the Queene of *Englands* Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, making great inſtance for agreement and amity with his Holineſſe, and to have her recatholiſed and abſolved; newes, as to me then ſeemed, cut out purpoſely for *Spaine*, & to comfort their favours and affected adherents: finding alſo by the obſervation and iudgement of ſome wiſe men, that the Ieſuites are the Maiſters of that mint, and that all theſe coines are of their ſtampe; yea, and that the glorious newes of the miraculous proceedings of the Fathers of their ſociety in converting the Indies, are not thought much truer. And laſtly, perceiving that the doctrine of all that ſide in the caſes of conſcience, making it lawfull for them to equivocate with their adverſaries in their anſwers, though given vpon their oathes, whenſoever their lives or liberties are touched, yet the Ieſuites are noted by ſome of their owne friends to be too hardy equinoctors, and their equivocations too hard, whereof they give this example of a Ieſuite, who inſtructed a maid ſervant in *England*; That if ſhe were examined whether ſhe knew of any Prieſts reſorting to her maiſters houſe, ſhe ſhould ſweare (if ſhe were put to it) that ſhe knew not of any, which ſhe might doe lawfully with this ſecret intent; that ſhee knew not of any, (viz. with purpoſe to diſcloſe them.) Though others defend this as a point of allowable wiſedome, all theſe things conſidered, it hath made me to mittigate my former imagination, and to deeme it not impoſſible, that this over politike & too wiſe order, may reach a note higher then our groſſe

con-

conceits, who thinke Honesty the best pollicy, and Truth the onely durable armor of proofe, and may finde by their refined obſervations of experience, that newes make their impreſſion vpon their firſt reporting, that then if they be good, they greatly raiſe vp the ſpirite, and confirme the minde, eſpecially of the vulgar ſort, who eaſilie beleeve all that their betters tell them: that afterwards when they hap to be controled, mens ſpirites being cold, or not ſo ſenſible as before, and either little regard it, or impute it to common errors and vncertainty of things, yea and that the good newes commeth to many mens eares, who never heard of the checke it hath; and at leaſtwiſe it may ſerve their turne for ſome preſent exploit, as Marchants do with their newes, (whether imitators or imitated of theſe men, I know not) who finding ſome difficulty in accommodating their affaires, have in vſe to forge letters, or otherwiſe raiſe bruites, either of ſome good ſucceſſe in their Princes actions, (as our men they ſay at *Conſtantinople*) or of ſome great alterations in ſome kinde of marchandiſe, (as certaine not long ſince have done at *Paris*) which may ſerve for that preſent inſtant to expediate their buſineſſe: yet ſurely me thinks theſe learned fathers ſhould conſider, that though lying bee helde for a neceſſary fault in Marchants, (if any fault be neceſſary, which for my part I hold not) yet it cannot be admitted for an allowable pollicy in divines, being the of-ſpring of that arch-enemy, both of the deity and divinity: and if a dead flie doe vicíate a whole boxe of ſweete ointment; ſo a little folly may blemiſh greatly a very wiſe man, and ſome falſhood diſcredite the delivery of much truth. Then verily will I crave leave at their hands, of advancing them in the reſt of their ſuperſuttle inventions, I arrange this amongſt the poore pollicies of the hoſpitall of the deſperate.

Now theſe being weapons wherewith they fight againſt their adverſarie, they whet them, by framing an vtter breach or ſeperation in all religious duties betweene their

partie and their opposites, not onely in such pointes as wherein they diffeent, (which is the part of all men which list not to wound their owne consciences,) neither yet in all ecclesiasticall duties alone, (which sundry other Churches, antient and moderne, have done, and still doe,) as thinking that the good things which heretiques retaine, are vitiated by those bad, wherewith either their faiths or functions are stained, though perhaps there be a dram more of zeale then charitie, in the ingredience of that canon, vnlesse the heresie be capitall and directly opposite to the glory of God, or honour of our Saviour. But the Church of *Rome* at this day hath strained that string, as to stretch it out to all divine duties whatsoever, though not ecclesiasticall, but performed by private persons, and in severall, as occasion serves; neither to such onely as faith hath revealed to vs Christians, but even those which the light of Nature hath taught all men in the worlde; yea, Pagans and Barbarians as yeelding glory to GOD, imploying his aide and favour, rendring him thankes for his benefites, in none of which actions may they joyne with the Protestants, being so commaunded by the soveraigne Lord of their Church. If a Protestant begin to settle himselfe to pray, with that prayer which the lippes of our Saviour hath sanctified and taught, it is now so polluted by passing through his lippes, that a Roman Catholique may not stay in the roome, if hee vse that voyce which all the creatures of GOD in their severall languages doe daily sound foorth and say; GOD be praised; or, Glory bee to the Highest: The Romanist alone is silent, and may not joyne his assent: if at meate hee yeelde thanks vnto GOD for his blessings, bee it but with *Deo gratias*, (which was ever in *Augustines* mouth) though this chaseth not a Catholique from his dinner, (which were to his losse,) yet must hee forbeare his *Amen* vnto it.

On the contrary side, some Roman Catholiques will

not

not say grace, though hee be at his owne Table, when a Protestant is present, thinking it better to leave GOD vnserved, then that a Protestant ioyne in serving him: though the custome of giving GOD thanks at meales, is generally amongst these Catholiques growne cleane out of vse both in *Fraunce* and *Italy*, for aught I could see: as not knowing that the Popes pardon is gained by the vse of grace in cuppes. In summe, they are more averse to ioyne with a Protestant in doing honour to GOD, then the very bruite beasts, if beasts by proper speech could sound forth God s praise, as the egends of their Saints in their favour doe fancie, wherein how religiously they have proceeded for the amplifying and advauncing of Gods service, that GOD dooth know how politiquely for the strengthening of their owne part amongst their enemies, that the world may know by these few considerations;) First, by this course that they keepe their lay followers in a perpetuall darke ignorance of the Protestants faith and religion, having made in an high degree of deadly sinne, either to reade their bookes, or to heare their Sermons, or to be present at their Service, or any way to communicate with them in religious duties whatsoever. Whereby, whatsoever their lay multitude conceiveth of the reformed religion, or of the points of doctrine which therein are taught, is that onely which the enemies thereof doe tell them, who reports according to the disease of their owne stomackes, and as I may represent it, in most odious and hideous forme to the hearers.

So that now no more mervaile which experience dooth teach, that seldome or never a lay Catholique can bee found, that conceiveth rightly of any (almost) of the Protestants propositions, sith seldome or never was Roman Priest yet to bee shewen, that hath not falsified and depraved them vtterly in reporting them. Whereas, if those lay Catholiques shoulde once open their eares

eares to know the Proteſtants opinions from themſelves, that hold them (which was the vſe of the old world in their ingenious ſimplicity and ſingleneſſe of proceeding) they would not be found, either ſo abſurd perhaps, but that a reaſonable, or ſo wicked, but that a religious minde might imbrace them.

Then ſecondly, by this meanes they doe knit their own faction more faſt together, and vnite them more ſoundly to the head thereof the Pope, ſith no ſervice of God, but in his communion, and with him no coniunction without vtter ſeperation and eſtranging from his enemies, whereas if his party ſhould but ioyne with the Proteſtants in ſuch ſervices of GOD, as are allowed by both, this concurring with him in ſome actions, might abate that vtter diſlikes which they have of their whole way: yea and happily taking a liking of them in ſome things, they might bee drawne ſtill by degrees to other; and finally, ſteppe away or grow colde in their firſt affections. For factions, as by diſparitie of minde they are raiſed: ſo by ſtrangeneſſe they are continued and growne mortall; whereas on the other ſide, they are ſlaked by intercourſe, by parley they are reconciled, by ſimilarity extinguiſhed. A memorable example of the vertue of this pollicie our owne Country in theſe latter times hath yeelded, wherein the firſt reformation vnder King *Edward*, the Prelates and Clergy having before diſcarded the Pope, did eaſily ioyne with the Proteſtants, though not in their opinions, yet in the publique ſervice of God in the Churches, being indifferently compoſed, and offenſive to neither part. And but that the Pope ſoone after vpon extraordinary cauſe, was reſtored to his former authority by Queene *Mary*, that faction had in likelihood beene long ſince ended. But after that the Pope was once againe admitted, and had liberty to temper with his party at pleaſure. In the ſecond reformation by her Maieſty, not a Biſhop of his could be perſwaded to come to our Churches,

but

but choosing rather losse of living; and the greatest part also of Recusants, which have since beene continued by their followers to this day. Notwithstanding our service be lesse offensive to them, then in King *Edwards*, and in no part opposite to any point of their beleefe. But so it seemed good to their politique Governours, by this vtter breach and alienation, to preserve and perpetuate the remaines of their partie and potent adversaries, that in the middest of their more potent adversaries, though armed with lawes, quickened with suspitions, yea exasperated by their often daungerous practices agaynst them. Now in that they proceede also a step further, and inhibite their partie, not onely the reading of the Protestants bookes, and repaire to their Churches, but also ioyning with them in any service of God, in whomsoever, or in how lawfull sort soever performed, thereby doe they ingender in them an extreame hatred, and bitter detestation of their opposites. For if the Protestants, by reason of their enmitie with the Pope, and swarving from his way, do stand in tearmes of so deepe disfavour with God, that the prayer it selfe doe turne into sinne; that their humble thankesgivings are abhominable presumptions; that to ioyne with them in praysing the Creator of the world, is no better then treason to his Maiestie: then surely, woe woorth the houre wherein they were borne, and blessed be that hand that shall worke their bane and ruine. Then no stay or doubt, but what the Pope directes, that boldly to bee executed against these enemies of God: And this have they set vppe as a Crowne, and accomplishment, to the rest of their practises against their adversaries: for now is their faction, not only kept on foote, and continually mainteyned without decay, but enflamed also with such hatred of their enemies, that they are readie to anie violence, that oportunitie shall devise. For as diversities of iudgements doe growe into dislikes, and dislikes by oppositions doe issue into fa-

ons; so hatred in factions doe breake out into seditions, and attend onely advauntage to vse force against these they hate: whereas on the contrarie side the Protestant (beeing not armed, nor quickened vppe with such stings of hatred as his adversaries) is more cold and careless in his opposites desires, and exceeding inferiour in all strong attempts and practises. But certainly howsoever in this craftie kinde of policie, which hath too much bewitched the wittes of this age, and do too much tyrannise over that auncient true wisedome, wherewith the worlde in fore-times was more happily governed.

These courses may seeme verie fine and effectuall for the atchieving of that end whereto they are framed; yet hard (I suppose) nowe it would bee to be shewne, howe they can stand with the principles and rules of that Religion, whose roote is Truth, whose braunches are Charitie, whose fruites are good deedes, extending and ever offering themselves with cheerefulnesse vnto all men, to the encouraging of friendes, and reclaiming of enemies, to the amending of the worse, and the accomplishing of the better and noble mindes, in the high vertuousnesse thereof, doe carrie it selfe in all actions, with such moderation, and measure, as that it neither hate his enemie so much in regard of his wickednesse, but love that whatsoever in him hath resemblance of vertue; neither yet feare him, so much for his mischievous desires, as to rage and growe fierce vpon him in his weakenesse, but contenteth it selfe so farre-foorth onely to represse him, as may disinable him thence forwardes from dooing hurte vnto others, howe much more may it seeme reasonable, that the heavenly affections of a Christian reioyce for whatsoever goodnesse appeareth in anie man, as finding there some liniaments of his Creators Image, detest nothing but impietie and wickednesse the worlds dishonour. And lastly, in the true and serious worshipping

of

of God, doe ioyne when occasion offers, with whatsoever of his creatures in vnited affections, to cheere vp his service, where scandall (by shewe of approving that which is evill in them) doth not hinder: But the world in the baseneſſe of his mettall, nowe in the laſt and woorſt, and in the weakeneſſe of his olde and decayed yeares, laying the ground of all his pollicie, in feare and iealouſie, iſſuing from a certaine conſciouſneſſe of his owne worthleſneſſe, and for want of vertue, holdeth this courſe for the beſt, which worke with the greateſt advauntage, and moſt ſecret, againſt thoſe which either are, or in time may become concurrents or enemies, letting paſſe with ſome termes of ſpirituall commendations, thoſe auncient and more noble wayes, which being derived from the high governour of both the worldes: and having their ground in the immoveable principles of true wiſedome and vertue, muſt needes be of great force, both for the vpholding and effecting of all worthie and honourable deſires, were there a firme minde to purſue them, and a ſtrong arme to weild them; both which to this weake world are wanting: but of this matter ſufficient.

It is nowe time to come to the view of thoſe meanes which are vſed by the Papacie, for excluding of all acceſſe and ſound of Religion, in thoſe places where their power remayneth yet vnabridged, wherein (as in other like caſes before) I will lightly paſſe over that which is apparant to all eyes: and that is, what ſervice their Inquiſitions doth therein, being in truth, the principall and moſt forcible engine in accompliſhing that worke, and ſuch as whereſoever it, and the Councell of *Trent* can bee throughly planted and eſtabliſhed, (as in *Spaine*, and all *Italie*, ſaving onely in the kingdome of *Naples*, where the tyrannie of *Spaine* is an Inquiſition ſufficient (as the Inquiſition is alſo of the two, the better) that it doth rid them of feare, and their adverſaries of hope, of letting in the reformation, vnleſſe perhappes ſome vniverſall deluge of

warre, when the execution of lawes and ſuch ſearchers ſhall bee forced to ceaſe. For this Inquiſition being committed lightly to the moſt zealous, induſtrious, and rigorous Friars that can bee found in all places, who leave no one rule thereof vnpractiſed, taking holde of men for the leaſt ſuſpition of Hereſie, or of affinitie, or commerce with Heretiques that may bee, as the bare reprooving ſometimes the lives of the Cleargie, or having anie Booke or edition prohibited (though yet with ſome regarde of the nature and qualitie of the perſons) ſeeing manie men make thoſe actions ſuſpicious, which otherwiſe would not make the man) diſcovering men, by the preſſing of all mens conſciences, whom they charge vnder an high degree and damnation (beeing a caſe reſerved, and wherein not any vnder a Biſhop or Archbiſhop can abſolve them) as I have ſeene in their printed inſtructions at *Scienna*, to approach even their neareſt and deereſt friendes if they knewe, or did but ſuſpect them to bee culpable therein, proceeding againſt the detected, with ſuch ſecrecie, and ſeveritie, as that firſt they ſhall never have notice of their accuſers, but ſhall bee vrged to reveale their verie thoughtes, and affections: Secondly, if by long inquirie they be taken tardie in any one thing delivered in their opinions, or can bee convicted thereof by anie two witneſſes, they are caſt and gone.

Thirdly, if nothing fall out to be prooved againſt them, yet will they holde them in their holy houſe diverſe yeares, ſometimes in great anguiſh and miſerie, for a terrour to other, and for their exact tryall. And laſtly, beſides all other tortures and ſcornes, if one be touched the ſecond time, nothing but death without remiſſion, dooth ſo ſweepe all the quarters and corners where it walkes, that as a ſheering winde it killeth all in the budde, no wit nor proviſion being poſſible to avoide it, yea, it is ſuch a bridle to the verie freedome of minde, and libertie of

ſpeech

ſpeech which they of their owne way woulde otherwiſe vſe, That many of their catholiques elſewhere who would die perhaps, if need ſo were, for their religion, yet abhorre the very mention and name of the Inquiſition, as being the greateſt ſlaverie, as ever the world hath taſted: and Venetians themſelves could never yet be brought to admitte it in other ſort, then with certaine very favorable exceptions for ſtrangers, who are generally alſo in *Italie* little ſearched into for their conſciences, by reaſon of the gaine that comes by their repaire, but may paſſe well enough if they give no ſcandall, and with retaining the ſoveraigne ſway thereof in their own hands at all times. But to let the racke of mens ſoules thus reſt as an invention, fitter for the religion of *Antiochus*, and *Domitian*, or *Mahometis Alcheron*, than for the clemencie of his Goſpell; who was prince of mildeneſſe and mercie. It is a woonderfull thing to ſee what curious order & diligence they vſe, to ſuffer nothing to be done or ſprung vp among themſelves which may any way give footing to the Religion they ſo much hate: And firſt for the Scriptures; Forſomuch as the reformation ſeemeth grounded vppon them, having ſtriven to ſquare it out wholy and onely by that rule, as farre foorth as their vnderſtanding and wits could wade. And forasmuch as it is a thing which the Romaniſts deny not, That a great parte of their religion hath other foundation; and would ſeeme in many poyntes to ſwarve much, yea and plainely to croſſe the Scriptures, as an ordinary reader by his meere naturall witte, not faſhioned by their diſtinctions, nor directed by their gloſſes would expound it. For this cauſe, though heeretofore to ſtoppe their adverſaries mouths, alwayes yelping and crying with hatefull ſounds; That they woulde not ſuffer the poore people to heare God ſpeake to them, that they ſtarved and murthered their ſoules in ignorance, robbing them of the breade of life the voyce of Chriſt, and cramming and choaking them with their emptie ſuperſtitions, their poyſoned Idolatries.

latries. That their Scriptures would shew them that their worshipping of Images was ever with threates prohibited in the law of God. That their praying in vnknowne languages, and by tale, is plainely reprooved, their invocating and praying to Saints, as matter there never heard of. That their ceremonies were vanities, Their trafficke for soules very sacrilege, Their Myracle delusions, Their indulgences blasphemies, That it woulde discover their church to be a bodie strangely infected and polluted with foule and pestilent diseases; And finally, that their not erring and incontroleable lord of *Rome* was no other than that imperious bewitching Lady of *Babylon*: though, I say, as well to beate backe these yrkesome outcries of their adversaries, as also to give some content and satisfaction to their owne, that they might not thinke them so terrible afraide of the Bible, they were contented to let it be translated by some of their favourers into the vulgar, as also some number of Copies thereof to be saleable for a while at the beginning. Yet since having huisht that former clamour, and taken better provision for the establishing of their affaires, they have called all vulgar Bibles straightly in againe (yea the very Psalmes of *David*, which their factious Preacher Bishoppe *Pangorola* translated) as doubting else the vnavaileablenesse of those former inconveniences.

To let passe these hard conceites which they breede in the multitude, as touching the inextricable obscuritie of the Scriptures, the easinesse to mistake it, the daungerousnesse to erre by it, having raised in some places such base and blasphemous proverbs concerning it, I woulde rather themselves would distinguish them, than that I list to give life by recording them in this place, neither yet in their very Sermons, though they preach alwayes in a maner of the Gospel of the day, doe they reade or anie waie recite the Text, but discourse onely on such pointes of it as they thinke fittest, without more solempnitie; That no

sound

found of Scripture may possesse the people, although the vse in *Fraunce* be otherwise for that matter, yea some parts of Scripture, as Saint *Paules* Epistles they are so iealous of, and thinke so dangerous, that (as I have heard credible report, (for my selfe did not see it) some of their Iesuites of late in *Italie* in solempne Sermons, and other their favourites elsewhere in private communication commending betweene them Saint *Peter* for a woorthy spirite, have censured Saint *Paule* for a hote headed person, who was so transported with his pangs of zeale and eagernesse beyond all compasse in most of his disputes, That there was no greater reckoning to be made of his Assertions, yea he was dangerous to reade, as savouring of heresie in some places, and better perhappes hee had never written. Agreeably to which I heard other of their Catholiques deliver, that it hath beene heeretofore very seriously consulted among them, to have censured by some meanes, and reformed the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, though for my owne part, I must confesse I cannot beleeve this point, as beeing an attempt too abhominable and blasphemous, and for these times too desperate a scandall. But howsoever, he of all other is least beholding to them, whom of mine owne knowledge and hearing some of them teach in the pulpit, nor to have beene secure of his preaching, but by conference with Saint *Peter*, nor that hee durst publish his Epistles, till Saint *Peter* had allowed them, these orders they have taken to avoyde danger from the written worde, advauncing in steede thereof, the amplitude, the sufficiencie, and vnfallible certainetie of GODS Oracles and wordes not written, but delivered by the custodie of this holy Church by speech onely, which Church hath delivered her mind in the Councell of *Trent*, whereto all those that are solemnly made Doctors in *Italy* must subscribe.

35 And as in the foundation of the Reformation which is the Scriptures, so much more in the edifice it selfe, the doctrine and opinions they beate away all sound

and

and eccho of them, beeing not lawfull there to alleadge them, no not to glaunce at them, not to argue and dispute of them, no not to refute them in ordinary matter of communication. To talke of matters of religion is odious and suspitious, but to enter into any reasoning, but for Argument sake, without other scandall, is prohibited and dangerous. Yea it was once my fortune to be halfe threatned for no other fault than for debating with a Iew, and vpholding the trueth of Christianitie against him, so vnlawfull are all disputes of Religion whatsoever. And the Friars even in *Fraunce*, in their indevours to convert other, will say it is lawfull to perswade them, but not to dispute with them. But in *Italie* this is much more exactly observed, wherein their Diuinitie disputations in their Vniversities or Colledges (as some such disputations they have, but very sleight and vnfrequent) I coulde not perceive that ever they debated any question at this day controversed otherwise than as ever among themselves, and betweene the Schoolemen. And, which was more straunge to mee till I founded the reason, in no place of *Italie* where ever I came, could I have anie of their Preachers treate of any point in question betweene them and the Protestants save only at *Padoa*, where, in respect there are alwayes diverse hinder ths of Strangers of the adverse part, it is otherwise practised. But in all other places, for aught I coulde perceive, eyther they mention now no adversaries, or if they do (which is very seldome) yet doe they not vnfolde their opinions and arguments, but either from other Chymaras of their owne in stede of them, or a flourish about or two in canvasing their owne shadowes as is vsuall in *Fraunce* also, or else dispatch them away with certaine generall reproches, and then as I have heard some of them will formally conclude. But what do I name Hen tikes in an assemblie of Catholiques? Howbeit they are not so forgetfull and carelesse of their neighbours, as this course might seeme at the first blush

to

to import; but those offices they doe, they doe them to the best purpose, teaching the people somtime in pulpet, much more in private conference, and in their confession, that the Lutherans and Calvenists, are blasphemers of God, and of all his Saints; and above all other, that they despise and vilifie our Ladie, saying plainly, she was no better than one of their owne wives. That they abolish the Church Sacraments, the onely meanes of salvation; that where ever they come, they either ray or robbe Churches, and make stables of them; that in *England* they have neither Churches nor no forme of religion, nor serve God any way; that the English nation, since their falling away from their Church, is growne so barbarous, that their studiers are verie Cannibals, and eate young children, and that there is no kinde of villanie, which is not currant amongest them. And that above all other places, *Geneva* is a very professed Sanctuarie of Roguerie, giving harborrow to all the runnagates, traitors, rebels, and wicked persons of all other Countries: By which speach, verie generally in *Italie*, spred and beleeved, some memorable accidents have at some times happened. Sundrie of their pricking and loose Friars, hearing *Geneva* to be a place of good felowship, & thinking the worse prankes they plaied with their owne ere they came thither, to find the better welcome at their comming, have robbed their Covents of their Church-plate, and repositaries, and brought away the bootie in tryumph to *Geneva*, vnder the colour of beeing reformed in their Religion, where their advauncement hath beene straite to the Gibbet for their labour; a rewarde vnexpected, and such as caused them to complaine pittifully of their wrong information. For such is the extraordinarie severitie of that Citie, as to punish crimes committed without their estate, with no lesse rigour, then as if they had bin done amongst them. And not manie yeares since, it was the lotte of a Spanish Gallant, who stoode vppon his state, and carried a Mint about him, to repaire thither to have stamps

made him for the coyning of Piſtolets. His defence was, that he vnderſtoode that their Citie was free, and gave receit to all offenders: but withall (ſaid they) when they were come they puniſhed their offences. A diſtinction which the poore Gentleman never before ſtudied, & the learning of it then coſt him no leſſe then his head-peece: and as by thoſe kinde of ſlanders, ſo alſo to harden mens mindes againſt them, they will tell of ſtrange miracles have befallen them; a point wherewith the Pulpets of *Fraunce* doe alſo ring dayly, where in the ſiege of *Paris*, they were growne to that audacioufties, as to perſwade the people there (who generally beleeved it (that the thunder of Popes excommunications had ſo blaſted the Heretikes, that their faces were growne all blacke and vgly as Divels, their eies and lookes ghaſtly, their breaths noyſome and peſtilent, much like to the *Serindi madonna & Bollonia*, whom I heard in Pulpet among a multitude of moderne miracles, which had fallen out to their puniſhments who were excommunicated (the continuing wherein a yeare without ſeeking abſolution, incurreth ſuſpition of hereſie) tel this alſo of an heretical gentleman of *Polonia*, who talking at a ſolemne dinner againſt the Pope, the bread of his trencher grew black as inke, and vppon his repentaunce it returned to his former whitenes: A thing hapned but lately, and reported by the Poloniſh Ambaſſador to a Cardinall, by the Cardinall to a Biſhop, by the Biſhop to this Friar, an imitation perhaps of that renowmed miracle of eating tables for hunger, threatned by that winged Propheteſſe, with like dedication of credit, *Quæ Phœbo patet omnipotens mihi Phœbus Apollo prædixit vobis furarium ego maxima pando*: And theſe things are in ſteed of refuting the Proteſtants religion, which are not in vaine: for the vulgar ſort of people, who beleeved (as they ſay) God and Pope, thinke all Goſpell that their Friars tell them. And I have heard ſome cõiecture at others to be Lutherans, only by reaſon that they were ſo monſtrous blaſphemers as they were; but all are not of that ſtampe, thoſe

Gentlemen

Gentlemen and others that have travelled abroad, & those also at home that are not passionatly blind, but discreet and inquisitive of the truth of all things, howsoever dissenting from them, yet have no such conceit of the Protestants opinions or actions. But the most strange thing (as to me it seemeth) of all other, is, that those principall writers, who have imploied themselves wholy in refuting from point to point the protestants doctrine, & arguments, are so rarely in *Italy*, as by ordinary inquirie (I beleeve) are not to be found. The controversie of Cardinal *Bellar.* I sought for in *Venice* in all places; neither that, nor *Gregorie a Valenza*, nor any of such qualitie, could I ever in any shop in *Italie* set eye on; but in stead of them, an infinite of meere invectives & declamations, which made me entertaine this suspicious coniecture, that it might be their care, that no part of the Protestants positions & allegations should be known, they were so exact, as to make discurrent in some, even those verie bookes, which were constrained to recite them, that they might refute them in such wise, as not to suffer them to be cōmonly saleable, but only to such, & in such places as the superiours shall thinke meet: but the truth of this coniecture I leave to further inquirie. The conclusion is this, no sound of the reformed religion, either stirring in *Italie*, or by any humane wit now possible to be raised, for to bring in from forreine places any heretical writing, thogh it were without malice, it were two yeares straight imprisonment (as they say) if he scaped so. So far are they from their adversaries, either simplicitie, if their cause be bad, or honestie, if good, who not onely in the most of their Replies, print both togither, to give meanes of indifferencie in iudging to the Reader, but even permit the adversaries yet vnanswered, disputers to runne current among them, so they be in the Latin, and not purposely written as some are, misdrawing the multitude, it remained now to restraine the Italians from going abroad to forreine Countreys where those contagious sounds and sights might infect them. Herein the nature of the Italian

doth ſupply, who wonders at vs Engliſhmen that come travelling ſo farre thither, himſelfe having no humour to ſtirre one foot abroad. And indeed little neede, conſidering how all nations in Chriſtendom do flocke to him; but not ſo for marchants, theſe flie abroad in exceeding abundance to all places, and in wealth (where ever they come) overtop all other, ſuch is their skil, their wit, their induſtry, their perſimonie: behold then this late Popes exploit in that point, He hath, by his painted Bul, vnder pain of excommunication, forbidden them all repaire for traffique to hereticall countries, whervpon ſome (as I heare) are retired from England, and other in other places are ſaid to have importunated & obtained ſome out chappell to have their Maſſe in. Thus have every grape his buſh, each ſuſpition his prevention.

36 One thing only remaineth as a garland to all the reſt, it were a hard ſtate and tyrannicall, where the Superiours ſhould aſſume to themſelves all licence of doing, and not permit the inferiors at leaſtwiſe libertie of ſpeaking, which is but a ſlender revenge for ſo great a wrong as ill government, yet ſuch as by giving vent to the boyling fumes of hatred, doth evaporate and aſſlake that heat which otherwiſe would flame out into fire and miſchiefe. For which cauſe the wiſeſt men have bin alwaies pleaſed, that looſers ſhould have their words. And they that endevored to bridle mens tongues by ſharpe lawes, whom they rather ſhould have charmed and held in tune by their owne integritie, have termed, that things violent are ſeldom permanent, that the enioying of too much pacience, makes men breake into madnes. Yea, I have heard men of great experience and iudgement ſay, that the beſt way to reconcile countrey enmities is, to let the good men chide a while heartily togither, and their ſtomakes once being diſgorged, a peaceable motion will find good audience, ſo neceſſarie are theſe evaporations to the mind of the multitude, which may ſerve for a iuſtification of the wiſdome of the Papacie in thoſe former free times when they did, and others ſaid, what ech humor adviſed.

adviſed. But little was it then feared which ſince hath followed, little was it then imagined, that the time ſhoulde come, when the world awakened by the cries of a Friar, ſhould looke ſo broadely about, and ſearch ſo narrowly all the ſleights and hid corners of the Papacie, what their doctrine had beene, what their lives, what their ſcopes, what their practiſes. Not ſo many of the conſecrated Divines patterns of the Roman State, with thouſands of prayers and vowes daily adored: nor ſo many of their inſhrined and myracle-woorking-Images, to whome ſuch ſtore of lampes and pure candles were daily burning, ſo much incenſe perfumed, ſo long iournies to pilgrimage perfourmed, ſuch aboundaunce of giftes and glad offerings preſented; On whome laſtly in ſo many, ſo devoute, ſo humble hung downe heades, and bowed knees, and beaten breaſtes, and lifted vppe eyes attended, didde ever foretell ſo notable a calamitie? It was not then thought that there woulde ariſe a generation, who would alleadge in good earneſt, That diverſe hundreths of yeeres ſince, as alſo freſhly, ſundry of their owne Authors and followers, had in bitter deteſtation of their monſtrous abhomination, deſcribed out the Pope for the antichriſt foreprophecied, called *Rome*, the very *Babylon* and temple of hereſies, the corrupter of the world, the hate of heaven, & in effect, the very gate or hieway to hell, that the lives of their Prelates, Prieſts, Friars and Nunnes, (not for ſome particular offences which will alwayes befall, but for the ordinarie tenor and courſe of converſation) had beene ſo reported by men of their owne religion, that an honeſt adverſary cannot reade them without ſorrowe, nor a modeſt, without ſhame and bluſhing. that the iniquitie of their chiefe Sea hath bin ſo exorbitant as to have raiſed among themſelves this ſaying; amongſt other, concerning it, ingroſſed in their owne booke; That the woſt chriſtians in *Italy* are the Romans; that of the Romans, the Prieſts are the moſt wicked, the lewdeſt Prieſts are preferred to be Cardinalls,

and the badſt among the Cardinalls is choſen to be Pope. Whether was it then foreſeene that the world entring into theſe conſiderations, woulde thinke that they had reaſon, which called for a reformation, that it was not a fatall calamitie of this age, but a ſupernaturall bleſſing of God from above, after the kindling of many precurſary lights of knowledge, and furniſhing others inſtruments to ſerve thereto, to direct a meere accident of ſcandal on their part, namely, the vndiſcreet proclayming and ſeale of their pardons, as the wiſeſt and woorthieſt of their owne Hiſtoriographers reportes it, to the provoking of certayne men of more zeale and corage than pollicie or skill in condicting their actions, who without any ſuch premeditated intent, yea & drawne into the liſts, and held in them againſt their will, by the violent preſſing and inſulting of their adverſaries, having bin forced to fiſt throughly the Romiſh doctrine and practiſe, have diſcovered therein thoſe errors and abuſes, which it was hie time to be ſwept and purged out of the Church, and that the eſtabliſhing of this reformation, how vnperfit ſoever, to be done by ſo weake and ſimple meanes, yea by caſuall and croſſe meanes againſt the force of ſo puiſſant and politique an adverſarie, is that myracle which wee are in theſe times to looke for, wherein it pleaſeth God whoſe goodnes doth alwayes ſpeake out to renowne his higher wiſedome, in guiding this vntoward worlde by ordinary courſes, as in fore-times his power by annexing therein his often extraordinary woonders. But the Papacy at this day by woful experience what damage this licence of writing among themſelves hath done them, and that their ſpeeches are not only weapons in the hands of their adverſaries, but eie-ſores & ſtumbling blocks alſo to their friends, vnder ſhew of purging the world from the infection of all the wicked & corrupt bookes and paſſages which are either againſt honeſty and good manners, for which two purpoſes they have their ſeverall offices, who indeed blot out much impiouſnes and filth, & therein de-

ſerve

serve to be both commended and imitated (whereunto the Venetians adde also a third to let nothing passe that may iustly be offensive to Princes) have in trueth withall pared and lopt off all whatsoever in a maner their watchfull eies could observe, either free in disclosing their abuses & corruptions, or sawcie in construing their drifts and practises, or dishonorably to the Cleargie, or vndutiful to the Papacy: these editions only authorised, all other are disallowed, called in, consumed, with threats to whomsoever shall presume to keepe them; That no speech, no writing, no evidence of things past, no discourse of things present: in sum, nothing whatsoever may sound aught, but holines, honor, puritie, integritie to the vnspotted spouse of Christ, and to his vnerring vicar, to the mistris of churches, to the father of princes. But as it falles out now and then that wisedome and good fortune are the ruine of them, that too much follow them, by drawing men somtimes vpon a presumption of their wit & cunning in Conthum meates, and of their good succes withall in one attempt, to adventure vpon an other stil of yet more subtill inventions, and more dangerous execution, which breaks in th'end with the very fineneſſe it selfe, and overwhelme them with difficulties; So it is to be thought that their prosperous succes in pruning & pluming those latter writers affected with good ease, and no very great clamor, as having some reason, and doing really some good, was it that did breed in them a conceit, that it was possible to worke the like conclusion in writers of elder times, yea in the Fathers themselves. In all other monuments of reverend antiquitie, & the opinion of possibilitie redoubling their desire, brought forth in fine those Indies purgatories, whereof I suppose they are now not a little ashamed, they having by misfortune lighted in their adversaries hands, from whom they desired by all means to conceale them, where they remaine as a Monument to the iudgement of the world, of their everlasting reproach and ignomie. These purging Iudices are of divers sorts, some worth

worth not above 800. yeres vpward, other venture much higher, even to the prince of the church; th'effect is, that forasmuch as there were ſo many paſſages in the Fathers, and other antient Eccleſiaſticall writers, which their adverſaries producing in averment of their opinions, they were not able but by trickes and ſhiftes of witte to reply to eaſe themſelves henceforth in great part of that witty labour (a quality perhappes indeede more commendable in ſome other trade than in Divinitie) where Veritie ſhoulde ſway, where the love of the truth ſhould aſſubiect or extinguiſh wholy all other paſſions, and the eie of the minde fixed attentively vpon that obiect, ſhoulde diſ-turne from the regarding of other motions whatſoever, ſome aſſemblies of their Divines, with conſent, no doubt, of their redoubted ſuperiors and ſoveraignes, have delivered expreſſe order, that in the impreſſions of theſe Authors, which heereafter ſhould be made the ſcandalous places there named, ſhould be cleane left out, which perhaps (though in this preſent age would have ſmally prevailed to the reclaiming of their adverſaries) it would have bin great aſſurance to the retaining of their owne, to whom no other bookes ſhould have bin granted; yea perhaps Time & Induſtrie, which eate even throrow marbles, extinguiſhing or getting into their hands all former Editions; and for any other now to be ſet out by their deliveries, there is no great feare, whoſe books being diſcurrant in all Catholiques countries, their want of meanes requiſite to vtter an impreſſion, would diſ-horte them from the charge, the mouth alſo of Antiquity ſhould be throughly ſhut from muttering any ſillable or ſound againſt them.

Laſtly, by adding wordes where opportunitie and pretence might ſerve, and by drawing in the marginall notes & gloſſes of their friars into the text of their fathers, as in ſome of them they have already very hanſomely begun, the mouth of antiquitie ſhuld be all ſo opened for the, there remained then only the rectifying of S. *Paule*, whoſe

turne

turne in all likelihood, (if ever) ſhould be the next, and other places of Scripture, whoſe authority being ſet beneath the Churches already, it were no great matter to ſubmit alſo to her cenſures, eſpecially for ſo good an intent, as the weeding out of hereſies, and the preſerving of the Catholike faith in his purity and glory. But above all other, the ſecond Commandement as the Proteſtants, Grecians, and Iewes reckon it, were like to abide it, which already in their vulgar catechiſme is diſdained as words ſuperfluous, or at leaſtwiſe vnfit or vnneceſſary for theſe times: and then, without an Angell ſent downe from heaven, no men to controle or gain-ſay them in any thing. But theſe are the dreames perhaps of ſome over paſſionate deſires, at leaſtwiſe not likely to take place in our times. But what is it which the opinions of the not poſſiblity of erring, of the neceſſary aſſiſtance of Gods ſpirite in their Conſiſtories of authority vnlimited, of power both to diſpence of Gods lawes in this world, & to better his arreſts and iudgements in the other: for therevnto doe their pardons to them in Purgatory extend. What is it which theſe ſo high and ſubtile opinions are not able to engender, and powerfully to inforce, and to execute, carrying men away headlong with this raging conceit; that whatſoever they doe by the Popes, they doe by Gods owne commandement, whoſe Lievetenant on the earth hee is, by a commiſſion of his owne penning: that is to ſay, with abſolute and vnreſtrained iuriſdiction, that whatſoever they doe for the advancement of his Sea and Scepter, they doe it for the vpholding of the Church of Chriſt, and for the ſalvation of mens ſoules, which out of his obedience doe vndoubtedly periſh? And verily it ſeemes, we cauſeleſſe doubt or feare, that theſe homours, ſo forward, ſo venturous to alter and chaſtiſe with palpable partiallity, the works of former times in any age, which hath ſo many iealous eyes on their fingers, ſo many mouthes open to publiſh their owne ſhame, ſuch ſtore of coppies to reſtore and repaire whatſoever

they ſhould preſume to maime or deprave that in former ages, when there were few copies, ſmall difficulties, no enemies, as it is found by certaine and irrefragable arguments; that baſtard writings were forged in their favour, and fathered on honeſt men, who never begate them. So alſo they might beſide, offer their choppings and changings, puttings in, and puttings out, ſuppreſſe many good evidences which they perceived were not greatly to their purpoſe ſhould be extant. But of all others, in reforming and purifying of Authors, the care and diligence of this Pope doth farre exceede, who not content with that which hath beene done in that kinde before him, nor thinking things yet ſo bright as they ſhould be, cauſeth much to be peruſed and skowred over anew; yea, and it is thought it will caſſiere ſome worthy Authors, who as yet (though with cuts and gaſhes) hold ranke among them. And for a further terror, not to retaine bookes prohibited, I have ſeene in their printed inſtructions for confeſſion, the having or reading of bookes forbidden, ſet in ranke amongſt the ſinnes againſt the firſt Commandement. And for further proviſion, the Iewes, who have no other trades to ſpeake of, then loane of money and old ſtuffe, are inhibited in many places the medling any more with bookes, for feare that through error or deſire of lucre, they might doe them preiudice. Neither is it lawfull in *Italy* to carry bookes about from one place to another, without allowance of them from the Inquiſitor, or ſearch by their authorities, wherein as I confeſſe, they have neglected nothing which the wit of man in this kinde could poſſibly deviſe. So yet may it be doubted, that as too much wiping doth in the end draw blood with it, and ſoile more then before; ſo theſe rigorous cutting off all Authors tongues, leaving nothing which may favour any freedome of ſpirite, or give any ſatisfaction for vnderſtanding times paſt, may raiſe ſuch a longing for the right Authors in the mindes of all men, as may encourage the Proteſtants to reprint them

in

in their firſt intireneſſe, having hope given to vent them, although in ſecret. Theſe haue I obſerued for the complots and practiſes of the Roman Church and Papacy, not doubting but that they may haue many more, and much finer then I can dreame of: & yet in the ſurueying of theſe altogether, me thinks they are ſuch, that it cauſeth mee in generallity of good deſire to wiſh, that either the cauſe which they ſtriue to maintaine, were better, or their pollicies whereby they maintaine it, were not ſo good.

37 Now to take a view of the preſent ſtate of the Papacy, or rather of ſome points therein more requiſite to be knowne: Firſt to conſider it in his owne proper and peculiar Dominions, namely, in the Seigniories and Territories which the Pope holds in *Italy*, (for as for *Avignon* with his County *Veniſsiva* in *France*, by reaſon of the ill neighborhood of the Proteſtãts of *Orange*, it hath yeelded him (I weene) in theſe latter times no great matter; yea, rather it hath beene an over-charge vnto him: for which cauſe, they like well to be vnder the Pope, as bringing more vnto them, then he taketh from them.) I take it at this day, of the foure great States of *Italy*, (by reaſon of the acceſſe of the Dukedome of *Ferrara*, eſcheated to him of late) to be clearely the third at leaſt, and to ſurmount the great Dukes, which it hath wel-nie ſurrounded alſo; yea, queſtion might be made concerning the ſecond place. For although the Venetians in amplitude of Territory faile, and in greatneſſe of reuenewes not alittle exceede it: yet beſides other difficulties and charges of neceſſity, to which they are more ſubiect, in military force they greatly come ſhort, the Popes men retaining ſtill the brave hearts of their anceſtors, and breeding among them plenty of able leaders, whereof at this preſent, both the great Duke and Venetians, doe ſerue themſelues; whereas the Lumbards, wherein is the ſcumme of the ſtates of *Venice*, are as heavy and vnwarlike, as their ſoile is deepe and fat: inſomuch, that the Venetians are driven to ſeeke abroad, and

The Popes temporall power.

eſpecially to the Grecians, from whom they are to have at all times, ten thouſand at call. But on the contrary ſide, being to be alleadged, that the Venetians are by ſea puiſſant, where the Popes can doe nothing, I ſuppoſe they may ſtill hold the ſecond place of greatneſſe. The firſt even in *Italy* without other reſpects, being incomparable due to the Spaniſh mightineſſe; and this in poſſeſſion: Beſides which, all *Italy* holding, partly of the Pope, partly of the Empire, (ſave the Citie of *Venice*, who acknowledge no Lord) of the Pope the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Cecile*, with their dependants, the Dukedomes of *Parma*, *Valencia*, and *Vrbin*, beſides other leſſe quillets of theſe. The Dutchy of *Vrbin* no great thing, but ſull of goodly men, and of ſom 100000. crownes revenews, is in great probability to devolve to the Church ere long, the Duke being in yeares, and without heire, though as now vnmarried, by his olde wives deceaſe of late. But the Ieſuites labour hard that hee ſo remaine, perſwading him that Bigamy is not ſo acceptable an eſtate to God. Heere is alſo poſſibilities of the exchange of *Parma* and *Placentia*, there being but the young Duke, who remaineth ſtill vnmarried, being withſtood as it is thought in his long love to *Florence*; both by *Spaine* of old, and now by the Pope, (alſo beſides, the great Duke is not haſty to forgoe his Neeces portion) and the Cardinall *Farneſy* his brother, who in that caſe I beleeve, ſhould finde as difficult a ſuite at *Rome* for diſpenſation to marry, as the Duke of *Farara* did before him, for a tranſport of his tenure. Of *Naples* I can ſay nothing, either for probability or poſſibility, as things now ſtand, onely it is apparant that the Popes have a very great deſire vnto it, and opinion of good title alſo even in preſent; but the vnfortunate ſucceſſe and fearefull example of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* doth feare them, who of a ſimple Friar, being advanced to the Papacy, by the favour of *Spaine*, whom of long he had ſerved, fore-ſeeing very plainely the inevitable bondage, which together with all *Italy*, the very

Apoſtolike

Apostolique Sea, and Lady Church did grow into, perceiving their irreligion in encroachments vppon their Church-rights, their tyrannous importuning him to serve their turne and humours, their bravadoes, threates, insolencies, and lording over him. When his eyes did see this daily, and could not remedie it otherwise, being constrained by these imminent dangers and present indignities, hee durst harbor in his minde the afflicted forsaken thoughts of *Paulus Quartus* his predecessour, and imbrace a designe of chasing the Spaniards out of *Italy*, and especially of recovering the Realme of *Naples* to the Church, which hath now but a quit-rent of foure thousand crownes out of it, being one of the richest places that is in the world. For the effecting of which purpose, by enhaunсing his impосts vppon all commodities, after the example of the other Princes and States, his neighbours, and by other devises together, with good managing in short time, he raised five millions of treasure, a good ground of warre. And moreover, after the example of the same *Paulus Quartus*, who brought into *Rome* it selfe, two thousand Almans Lutherans, to oppose against the Duke of *Alva*, King *Phillips* Generall in *Italy*; yea, and was content to indure quietly those abuses and despites which they daily offered to his images and sacraments, and sundry other devotions, as remaineth in a report of credite not to except against. So this *Sixtus* beganne covertly to seeke strength from the Protestants, propounding to favour this French Kings labors, yea and desiring to entertaine good correspondency with *England*, commending her Maiesties government aboue all Princes in the world, by which neglect hee drew vpon him so great offence of the Spanish party, and especially of the Iesuites, from whom also as being too rich; for vowes of poverty he tooke at one clappe above 20000. crownes rent, and bestowed vpon Saint *Peter*, as I have heard reported, as they have stiled him a Navarriſt, that the divell with whom hee had intelligence came and fetched

him away, being in truth, one of the worthiest Popes this age hath scene. The vnprosperous events of these high indevours, and his precipitated ruine, who dared to advance them, having beene poisoned by Spanish practise, as the wisest there say, (and whilst my selfe was in *Italy*, a Priest, one of the Popes subiects, reported in secret, that there was lately a supplication putte vp to his Holinesse, by a person vnknowne, craving absolution at his handes, for making away of a Pope, which was thought could bee no other then this *Sixtus*,) dooth terrifie them that come after from venturing themselves in the like, and for imitating his actions, whose end they have cause to tremble at.

So *Naples* remaineth in his view that hath most right to it, but in his hands and armes that is strongest to hold it. And this for the Popes temporall state, which may perhappes yeelde him now neere two millions of yearely revenewes, by reason of the great increase *Ferrara* hath brought, and be able to make at home for their owne defence, some hundred thousand fighting men, or thereabouts, if neede were.

Besides which rent arising at home at his owne state, that which hee sucketh out of forraigne partes is not small even at this day, though nothing perhappes in comparison of those former rich times, when mony came in daily so flush from all quarters, that their temporalty, (which now they make their principall) was then but an accessary addition to their greatnesse. For among other blowes which *Luther* hath given that Sea, it hath compelled them, besides the intire losse in Countries revolted, even out of those which sticke to them, to draw more moderately then before, for feare of offending: yea, they have beene also in these latter times forced to share or yeelde vppe into the hands of great Princes, of *Fraunce* namely, and *Spaine*, for the better assuring them a great part of those fleeces, which themselves were wont

to

to ſhare from the Clergy heeretofore, without any partners: howbeit in *Italy* and ſome other places, their annuities and tenths, doe ſtill runne currant, (beſides the Spogly, as they terme them, or ſtrippings which they have of Clergy men at their deaths, vnleſſe in their lifetime, by ſome yearely penſion they liſt to redeeme) and amount (no doubt) to a good round ſumme. His gaine out of *Spaine* is thought matchable very neere to that of *Italy*, which the Kings thereof doe and will more contentedly endure, for the better aſſuring of the Papacy vnto them, which otherwiſe were likely to runne mainely with *France*; I would not report it but that I have it from good place, that *Pius Quintus*, vnder pretences (after the Counſell of *Trent*) of reforming their Clergy and ſuch like affaires, was complained on to the Counſell of *Spaine*, to have drawne fourteene millions from them out of the Kingdome. What gaines their pardons bring, I cannot eſtimate, they being not ſolde now to particular perſons after their former vſage, ſaving in *Spaine* and the appertenances to them, whereof alſo the late King himſelfe was ſaide to have the greater ſhare, and in regard thereof, to have preſſed it mightily vpon his people. It is to be preſumed, that ſuch a multitude of generall, perpetuall, and plenary indulgences, for all perſons, times and offences, as are granted to the religious houſes, and to ſome other Churches of *Italy*, and to ſundry in *France* alſo, yeeld ſomewhat to the holy father, in way of thankeful acknowledgement, conſidering that their gaine by them is nothing.

The Cordillers at *Orleance*, at the publiſhing of one indulgence, picked vppe (as they ſay there) foure thouſand at a blow. But howſoever the myſterie of that ſecret ſtandes, this is plaine and apparant; that the Popes are contented to vſe their religious houſes, as verie ſpunges, to drinke what iuyce they can from the people, that afterwardes, hee may wring them out, one by one into his own ceſterne. The Covents have from him

him these indulgences of graces to remitte sinnes, and free soules from Purgatory, at the yearely publishing whereof in their Churches, there stands in some conuenient place, the boxes of deuotion, with some poore begging crucifixe highly before it, and two tapers of each side to see the chinke to put mony in. What man can be so vnthankefull, so stony, and dry-hatted, as to giue nothing to them, who haue forgiuen him so much, especially, there neuer being wanting some holy pretence to incourage, nor many an eye open to see their good doing?

Besides this, the Pilgrimages to their miraculous images, which drew great commodities to their Cities also and states, wherein the people not ignorant thereof, helpe to set them a working: a consideration that brings contentment therewith no lesse to the Princes. So sweete is the taste of gaine from whatsoeuer, the visiting of their holy reliques, (both which haue their offerings) the purchasing of masses, both auxiliatory & expiatory, their rewards for praying, their collections for preachings, besides sundry other duties, amongst which their obijts which are so beneficiall, that their account is from a rich man, to draw *vijs & modis*, some hundred at his funerall, or else it goeth hard: yea, this is so certaine, and so good a rent vnto them, that if any man should be buried without their solemnitie, and some of their odors to accompany his coarse, he should be thought a very heretike, and to be sure to haue some bad bruite set abroach concerning him; as fell out not long since to a wealthie Cittizen of *Suca*, who willed by his testament, to bee buried in the night, without their ringing, tapering, censing, attending, or singing, hadde a rumour soone spread on him by the belly-deuote Friars, whom hunger and losse of hope, haue made wickedly irefull, that he was haunted and molested with rattes on his death-bedde: these meanes extraordinarie, besides these ordinarie reuenewes, increasing often by inheritance, discending vppon them, which happen to

to

any of their brotherhoods, goeth to convent for ever; ſuch is the lawe of *Italie*, being graunted or permitted by the Pope to the Friars, and all to enrich them. The lawe requires, reaſon and equitie allowes, and their vowes of povertie adviſeth, that when they grow to riches, his Holineſſe ſhould let them blood in their over-full veynes, for his neceſſarie ſuſtenance, as did *Sextus*, who pared away the ſuperfluities of ſundrie rich Covents, as fitter for his high eſtate and honourable deſſignes, then for them, who had povertie in their vowed recommendations. This Pope dealeth more gently by way of loanes, which may perhaps in the end come all to one reckoning. Beſides the which, when warre againſt the Turkes, or Heretiques, or other enemies of the Church, or any other great affayres requires imployment of the Church treaſure, then are taxes and ſubſidies impoſed, or requeſted to a certaine proportion, vppon the revenewes of all Abbeys, and other religious Covents in *Italie*, beſides the reſt of the Cleargie, which can be no ſmall matter, as was done theſe laſt yeares for the ſervice of *Hungarie*. I might adde hereunto the roll of his forreine commodities, the fees of diſpenſations, chiefly in prohibited degrees for marriage, and infinite other expeditions, wherein his Papall authoritie doth accommodate irreciprocally of al nations: but this is ſufficient to verefie that aſſertion, that even at this day thoſe out in-coms are good helps to an extraordinary odde Church when neede is. And yet all this notwithſtanding, the treaſure of the church is ſmal. *Sextus ſextus* left five millions by his great reckonings and husbandry: his ſucceſſor *Gregorie* the 14. waſted foure of thē in ten months & leſſe, aboue his ordinarie revenewes, in pompe and riot. This man is verie charie over that one remaining, and diſtilleth all other devices, rather then ſet finger to that ſtring, which yet his late Proveſſes have cauſed him to aſſay, but were the Church rent and gaine howe huge ſoever, two aſſiduall Horſeleaches which never leave ſucking, it will

never ſuffer it to ſwell over-great in treaſure. The firſt is the high place of honour, which he taketh farre above all other Princes and Monarchs in the worlde, which draweth him to ineſtimable charge in all places, to carrie with countenaunce and comelineſſe requiſites being forced thereby in his owne traine, in the intertainment he giveth Princes, in the allowance he giveth his Legates, Nuncions, and other Miniſters, which according to his owne greatneſſe are ſent into all Countryes. And laſtly, in furniſhing out the multitude of his actions and practiſes over the world, do raiſe his charge, for the moſt part, according to the proportion of his high eſtate: for Honour and Frugalitie, are the vnfitteſt companions that can be: it is Liberalitie and Expence, that both breedes and maintaines honour; neither can a iudiciall man perhappes wiſh worſe to his enemie, than to have an honourable calling, and a poore living.

An other thing which keepes the Papacie alwayes ſo bare, yea, and makes their temporall ſtate the woorſe governed in *Italie*, for ſo it is counted, is their often chaunge of Popes, by reaſon of their yeares, the infinite deſire each hath to advaunce his kindred, his children firſt if he have any, as *Paulus* the third, who left his baſe iſſue no leſſe than Dukes of *Placencia*, and *Parma*: and *Gregorius* the thirteenth more lately, who made his baſe ſonne Duke of *Sora*, and *Caſtillare*, of Saint *Angelo*. And if they have no children, or liſt not bee knowne of them, then their nephues and other kinſmen, which is common to them all, yea, it oft falleth out, that thoſe Popes, who have not anie knowne children of their owne, by extending of their love larger to a great multitude of their nephews, yet deſiring for their owne renowne, and perpetuing of their owne name, to raiſe them to as great eſtate and wealth as they can poſſiblie, doe conſume more the goods and treaſure of the Church, than thoſe other, who have their loves though ſtronger, yet to fewer, as was apparant in the two *Gregories*,

ries, the thirteenth, with his sonnes, and the fourteenth with the multitude of his Nephewes and Kinsmen: and these men being rayſed often from the bottome of baſeneſſe, to the height of pride and power, having no holde in their handes, nor ſcantling of their fortunes, as having never beene in middle ſtate, which is the meaſure of both extremities, doe fall into riot, able to ruine a Prince, and rage and ravine in their offices and government, as they that knowing their time ſhort, meane to vſe it to the full proofe. The examples of both are many, and freſh, which for their foulenеſſe and baſeneſſe, I liſt not to repeate, for which cauſe it was a good helpe to *Sixtus ſextus* to be Pope, that he had ſmall kindred, though that ground is mooveable, ſeeing pedegrees change (for the moſt part) togither with mens fortunes, which as a conſcionable Arbitrator, neither annoyes the poore ever with multitude of kinſmen, nor diſcomforts the rich with paucitie.

39 For the ſtate of the Cleargie vnder the Papacie, it varieth as the Countreys. In *Spaine* the Prelates are exceeding rich in revenewes. The Archbiſhoppe of *Toledo*, not inferiour to ſome Kingdomes; in *Italie* the livinges of the Prelates are competent, conſidering the exceſſive multitude, yet with ſo great diverſities, as ſome meere Biſhoprickes are above two thouſand Crownes rent, and otherſome vnder a thouſand Crownes. But the cuſtome of *Italie* which avoideth, yea, and blameth multitude of ſervaunts, and great houſe-keepings in all ſortes and degrees, makes a ſmall matter, ſufficient, and a great, ſuperfluous. Beſides, there to have manie livings, is a matter of credite, and not of profite onelie, though as wiſe men as they, have thought otherwiſe of it, to be a private great burden, and a publique great miſchiefe. The pariſh Prieſtes in *Italie*, who have not the Tenthes, which in a Countrey, whoſe ſoyle yeeldeth three harveſts in ſundrie places, all in one yeare, would amount to a huge matter; and conſidering the great

rents and rackes would be vnſupportable, but have in ſtead of them certaine farmes as gleabe and appropriate, and ſome certaine ſmall quantitie out of the increaſe of their neighbours, are ſo provided for, that the meaneſt lightly which are their Curates, have a hundred crownes a yeare, and the Romane which are Prieſts of the mother churches from two hundred, to five hundred & vpwards, ſomtimes, which they help out with maſſes as occaſion ſerveth, which are ſtill in *Italie* as cheape as a groat. In *Germanie* the Prelates are lightly great Princes, and great Nobilitie is required to have thoſe places. In *France* the Cleargie hath beene in fore-times moſt flouriſhing, their revenew amounting when land and all things were cheapeſt, to ſixe millions in the whole, beſides their great place in the ſtate, and ample iuriſdiction in their precincts; at this day they are fallen generally, eſpecially the inferiour part, into great miſerie, and beggerie, accompanied with all baſe and vilde conditions, whereby the common people is growne vtterly alſo without knowledge of God, or ſenſe of religion, being fallen into thoſe termes, that plenty which ſhould make men thankfull, maketh them wanton; & affliction which ſhould make men repentant, makes them deſperat, and nothing can better them. The whole realme, in ſumme, hath bin ſcourged, with a three ſtringed whip *Warre, ill Government, & Iuſtice particular*, whereof the two latter are likely to laſt ſtil, whereas on the one ſide, the places of Iuſtice are ſolde, as by the Drum; on the other ſide, the Church Prelacies, and other governments of ſoules, are made the fees and charges of their Courtiers, and ſouldiors, whoſe merits would have rewardes, but ſuting to their qualitie, which in ſuch a realme as that could not want, but for want of indifferencie, and meaſure, heaping all vpon a few, and moſt where are leſſe deſerts; whereas theſe ſo vnfitte and ill ſuted recompences, diſtemper that harmonie which ſhould be in a floriſhing ſtate, and fill the land with all kinde of corruption, and confuſion.

40 But to returne to the Papacie, or rather to the Pope himſelfe, and firſt to his election, the right whereof having beene of olde in the Cleargie and people, and from thence transferred to the Emperours nomination, is now wholy remitted to the colledge of Cardinalles, ſo that twoo third partes of their voyces that are preſent are requiſite to him, that eyther by adoration or ſcrutenie ſhall carry it, which double proportion of voyces to agree, maketh this election of greater difficultie, and giveth occaſion of rarer deviſes in it, than I ſuppoſe are to be found in other partes of the world. I have heard that in theſe latter times a Cardinall of *Cicile*, whoſe holines and learning advaunced him to that dignitie; for of ſome, ſuch alwayes there is, care to make choice for divers conſiderations, entring the Conclave to an election, and exſpecting that by inceſſant prayer, as in times of olde ſome divine inſpiration ſhould have pointed out Chriſts vicar. But finding when he was there, nothing but practiſing, and canvaſſing, promiſing, and terrifying, banding, and combining, ſetting ſome vp for ſtalles, onelie to eaſe paſſage for others, who were reſerved vnto the laſt courſe, when other mens hopes and angers beeing ſpent and evaporated, had abated the prime edge and ſtrength of oppoſitions; In ſumme, being himſelfe alſo aſſaulted by all meanes, yea tugged and haled, now by one party, now by another; the good man agaſt, as in a matter cleane contrary to his foreframed exſpectation. *Ad hunc modum* (ſaid he) *fiunt Pontifices Romani*. Therewithall, ſo ſoone as the Conclave was broken, retired to his country, & never ſaw *Rome* againe. But the matter of greateſt marke heerein at this day, is the power of the K. of *Spaine*, in ſwaying thoſe Elections, who by penſions, by preferments, by hopes of the higheſt, having aſſured a great third part of the Cardinalls to him: And to be alwayes at his devotions in all Elections, whereby having the excluſive (as they terme it) no Pope can be made but with his liking. He proceeds on by his Ambaſſadors to name alſo ſome five or ſix vnto them,

whereof pleaſe they but to chooſe any, he ſhall reſt wel ſatisfied: which courſe, though it mightily diſ-ſtate the reſt of the Cardinalls, who are hereby for ever debaſed from their chiefe deſire, yea and inwardly much afflict the great ſtates of *Italie*, who are loth to have their Pope of a Spaniſh Edition; yet ther is no remedy, one of theſe in fine they muſt needs chooſe, the diſcretion they can have, is onely this, to chooſe ſuch of them as is like to prove leaſt to his purpoſe.

A memorable example heereof in the election of the ſaide *Gregorie*, where the greateſt parte of the Cardinalles enflamed againſt the King, and banding againſt him, yet in concluſion, after twoo moneths impriſonment in the Conclave, were forced to relent, and to chooſe one of his nomination, or otherwiſe a cleere caſe, no Election at all, which whether there were or no, made no mater to *Spaine*, who ſtood vpon a ſure ground in his excluſive obſtinateneſſe. The neceſſitie of the Church, the ſtate of the Papacie, their owne preſent condition, the diſorders of the cittie of *Rome*, and of all their territorie, which in want of a Pope, and this locking vppe of the Cardinalles in a cellar, doe ſwarve exceedingly, did mainely cry out to have ſome Pope or other, which at the laſt they yeelded to, by conſenting vpon a favorite, yea a ſubiect of *Spaine* alſo, for ſuch was that *Gregory*, howbeit the maine matter runneth not with him ſo cleerely, they being not the ſame men that are choſen, and that are Popes. But changing with their eſtates both name and nature alſo, yea ſometimes not eaſier to finde two diverſe men of humours more different, than is the ſame man in his Cardinalſhip, and in his Papalitie, whereof no better witneſſe than *Sextus Quintus*, the moſt crooching humble Cardinall that ever was lodged in an oven, and the moſt ſtowt reſolute Pope that ever ware Crowne: in his Cardinalſhippe, a meere vaſſall and ſlave of *Spaine*, in his Papacie, the moſt dangerous enimie that *Spaine* ever had in the world: in ſumme, who in his Cardinalſhip was ſcorned as a baſe Friar, in his Papacie

was

was redoubted as a Prince of great worth and ſpirite; neither is there any marvell to be made of this difference, ſeeing the meanes of obtayning and maintaining the Papall honour are ſo cleane contrary, ſeeing in the one ſtate they faſhion themſelves to all other mens humors, in the other, they look all men ſhuld accommodate themſelves to their honors. And laſtly, ſeeing theſe Princes, whoſe favors are the only hopes to compaſſe this place, and their power of quelling downe the eſtate. For this cauſe as in general the Cardinalls doe, in their harts favour *Fraunce* above *Spaine*, both as being the weaker part, and the further neighbours, & the only hope to maintaine counterpoiſe againſt the others greatnes. So let the king of *Spaine* make what choice among them of a Pope he can, he ſhall finde that as long as theſe reaſons continue, whoſoever ſits in the ſeate, will more reſpect his owne ſafetie, than the ſervice of his preferrors, even as doth this very Pope, who for that cauſe is conceived to have made ſome alteration of inward friendſhippes, though holding good termes of love and loyaltie with both. But this vncertaine & immutabilitie of the new Popes affections doth cauſe both the K. of *Spaine* & other princes of *Italie*, above al other things, to aime at a man of calme nature, and not of ſtirring mettall, that if they cannot make any great accompt of his friendſhip, yet his naturall diſpoſition and temper may aſſure them, that hee ſhall not be a raiſer of new ſtirres in *Italie*, and diverſe of them to ſcamble ſomewhat for their own, have bin as on the other ſide, a ſpeciall good inducement to the Cardinalles in his age and ſicknes, that the place may be ſoone voyde againe; for the gaining whereof there is alwayes practiſing and plotting immediately vpon the Election.

41 Thus is the Pope made, who hath his counſel of cardinals to attend & adviſe him, he choſen by them, & they created by him, whoſe number may amount they ſay to 72 but many places are kept voyde ſtill, to ſerve for deſperate puſhes; of theſe there are ſome 20. being lightly the yonger

ſonnes

ſonnes of Dukes and Princes, who in caſe their Anceſters ſtates ſhould deſcend vpon them, with diſpenſation from the Pope, may reſigne vp their hats among the Cardinals for their owne honor, and for the gratifying of the world, are ſorted out and divided, al the orders of religions, and al the nations of chriſtendome, whereof they are appointed the particular protectors in the Courte of *Rome*, As the Protectour of *England* now is Cardinall *Gatane*, a verie ſtowte man of Spaniſh faction, who hath beene Legate into *Fraunce*, and more lately into *Poland*, but nowe returned.

Deſcription of Pope Clement the 8.

42 Nowe for this Pope, who is by countrey birth, a Florentine, was chaſed from thence with his father vpon a conſpiracie againſt *Don Coſmito*; I have little more to ſay, than what I have before touched, hee is reputed to be a man of a good calme diſpoſition, and not too crafty, yet cloſe, and one that can hold his owne well enough, kind to his frinds, and devout in his ways, & thinks without doubt, that he is in the right: he will weepe very often (ſome conceive vpon a weaknes and tendernes of minde, habituated therein by cuſtome;) others ſay vpon pietie & godly compaſſion. At his maſſes, at his proceſſions, at the fixing vp of his jubilies, his eies are ſtill watering, ſometimes ſtreaming with teares, inſomuch, that for weeping he ſeemeth an other *Heraclitus* to ballance, with the laſt *Gregorie* another *Democritus* for laughing. Touching his ſecret life the Italians ſpeake ſomewhat diverſly, eſpecially for his yoonger yeares. But mens tongues are alwayes prone to taint their governours, and the worſt men ſpeake worſt, in hope to lurke themſelves vnder the blemiſh of their betters. For my parte, hearing no extraordinary badde matter againſt him, but onely by ſuſpition, I iudge the beſt, and howſoever, had rather preſerve the credite of a bad man, than ſtaine or impaire it in a good. For his yeeres, he dooth not much exceed three ſcore, but is troubled with the dropſie, and that cauſed (ſome ſay) accompanied with a thirſtie in-

firmi-

firmitie; for a Prelat he hath good commendations, an enemie to the licentious lives of the Friars, yea to the pompe also, and secular braverie of Cardinalls; howbeit more desiring reformation in both, then daring to attempt in either, for aught as yet appeareth. Verie magnificall and ceremoniall in his outward comportment, in his private, austere and humble, as his friends say, in managing the Church temporall goodes, rather trustie than liberall, but of their spirituall treasure of superogative workes, in Indulgences and Pardons which they vse, not onely as charitable reliefes of the needie, but as honourable giftes also to reward Princes that have presented him. In these I should thinke him verie exceeding wastful, but that where the treasure is infinite, there the spender in ordinarie estimation cannot be prodigall. For a Prince he hath beene somewhat defective heretofore, as being neither of deepe resolution, nor of great spirit. But fortunate men are wise, and conquerours are valiant. And surely this mans proiects and attempts hath so well prospered, what in the matter of *Ferrara*, what in working the great peace, the honour whereof by them oft is wholie attributed to the Pope, though others say he was importuned to deale in it by the Spaniard, being so tyred and wasted out with troubling his neighbours, that in fine, no desire, no hope, but in peace only, that he hath purchased him the opinion, not onely of a fortunate and wise Pope, but of one who doth sincerely affect the quiet of Christendome, and thinketh nothing remaining to the height of his glory, but to be the Author of an vniversal league, and warre against the Turk (against whom he hath sundry times given aide already) & that for that ende notwithstanding his abilitie and oportunitie, what by his excommunications, what by his ready armie to have righted himselfe, yet hath he laid by his owne particular pretences, aswel against the great duke of *Tuscan* for *Burgo di San Sepulcro*, which belongs to the Church, as also, and more principally against the Venetians for *Romgo*

and the *Polisſina*, which they have rent by warre, and retaine from *Ferrara*, not to mention that ancient quarrell touching the Patriarkſhip of *Aquileia*, whoſe territory even all *Friuli* their ſtate hath vſurped, that no private nor temporall commoditie of this Church and Sea might give impediment to the publike good, in withſtanding and repreſſing the grand enemy of Chriſtendom. Theſe thoghts ſurely are honorable, neither vnneceſſarie for his owne future ſafetie, conſidering how neere a neighbour the Turke is to him, and how often his ſtate hath bin affected by him, and ſomtimes in hazard. But now for his neere neighbors, the great Duke, and the Venetians, as their States; ſo their loves and his, are but neighbourly, they thinking his growing to be their ſtoppe and endaungering. But the Venetians perhappes feare him, and the great Duke hateth him more. The Venetians having ſtill painted in their great Pallace, and dayly before their eies, the extremitie which former Popes excommunications hath brought the to, having their ſtate as ill ſeated, in regard of potent neighbors, who all gape after them vpon any advauntage, as any that I know againe in the world. The Turk confining and bordering with them on the Eaſt; the King of *Spaine* on the Weſt; the Emperour on the North, and the Pope on the South, who can never want pretence, they holding that which they liſt not yeeld: beſides ſome iealouſies and diſcourteſies paſſed lately betweene them and the Pope and his Cardinals. The great duke, not only for that hereditary enmitie firſt, and that perſonall diſcourteſie ſince, and what for effecting that title of king of *Tuſcanie*, whereof his wife is written Queene by ſome already: and having gotten as is ſaid the Emperors liking, the Pope denyed him in putting him off, with a diſtinction, that he was content he ſhould be K. in *Tuſcanie*, but not of *Tuſcanie*, which ſcholaſticall ſubtilties plaine ſuters love not, but much more care for the correſpondencie of conference & favor which is thoght to be betweene the Pope, and thoſe popular *Florentines*; who

diſtaſted

distasted with their home gouernement, once free, now almost servile, liue elsewhere abroad, & at *Rome* in exceeding store, specially seeing not only the pope in the faction of his particular family, but all Popes in the affection which the papacie doth engender, do naturally more desire that their neighbors states should be popular, as having the ground of their greatnes in swaying the multitude. But generally the Duke of *Tuscane* will be alwayes regardfull to hold the best correspondecie with the Popes that may be, as having their state verie often to assault on that side, the rest being surrounded by the Appennie and the Sea. To conclude, this Pope, where there is no private cause of disfavouring his person, or disalowing his place, carrieth the name of a good Pope, and they which doe subtilly see the points of goodnesse, more then curiously, will say, that *Pius Quintus* was a good prelate, but no good prince; that *Sixtus Quintus* was a good prince, but no good prelate. *Gregorie* the thirteenth a good prince and prelate, but no good man; this pope, both good man, good Prince, and good prelate, And so I leave him (wishing his daily encrease in all parts of true goodnesse, whereof his Church hath too little!) and himselfe happily (as other good men nothing too much) and returne to the Papacie.

43 The next point which commeth to be considered, is, what power it is at this day in the world, by reason of those nations, which either in whole or greater parte still adhere vnto it, which are *Italie* with his Islands, *Spaine* with his *Indies*, *Germanie* with his skirts, which I count the 17 provinces of the low countries, on the one side, the 13 Cantons of *Suists*, and 3 leagues of *Grison* on an other, and *Boheme* with his Marquisates of *Morauia* and *Lesia* on a third. And lastly, the great vnited, well seated, fruitfull, populous Kingdomes of *Fraunce*, with his neighbours of *Lormine* and *Savoy*, whome though Princes of the Empire, whensoever themselves list, and finde it for their profite, yet in regarde of their greater affinitie to *Fraunce*, both in

The forreine strength of the Papacie.

language and faſhion (which aſſociate alſo affections) I annex vnto it, of all which, ſome briefe ſeemeth neceſſarie to be taken. For as for *Poland* and *Tranſilvanie*, with *Valachia* and the remaines of *Hungarie*, by reaſon of their neere and daungerous confining with the Turke, together with the multitude of Religions, which are ſwarming in them, in *Poland* eſpecially, of which it is ſayd by way of by-word, That if a man hath loſt his Religion, let him go ſeeke it in *Poland*, and he ſhall bee ſure to finde it, or elſe make account that it is vaniſhed out of the worlde. There is no great reckoning to bee made of their force either way, then *England*, with the more North Kingdomes, *Scotland*, *Denmarke*, and *Sweden*, whoſe King notwithſtanding is of Romane faith now, but hath few there that followe him. They are accounted to have wholie caſt off the Papacie: for albeit they make reckoning of many favourers in them, as of foure thouſand ſure Catholikes in *England*, with foure hundred Engliſh Roman Prieſts, to maintain that *malitia*, who vpon quarrel with the Ieſuites, affectors of ſuperioritie, & diſgracers of all that refuſe to depend vpon them, have inſtantly demaunded of late a Biſhop of the Pope to be choſen by them, and to be reſident among them: yet this is ſo ſmall a portion, beeing compared with the whole, as not to bee eſteemed, eſpecially ſeeing in *Italie* counted wholie theirs, there are full foure thouſand profeſſed Proteſtants, that have exercize of their Religion alſo. In the valley of *Pymont*, *Saluſſo*, beſides ſundrie Gentlemen who live abroad, and reſort to them. In *Lucca* alſo a great part are thought favourites of the reformation: ſome of that ſort there are ſcattered in all places, eſpecially in *Venice*. But their practiſe and obſcuritie ſhall encloſe them in a Cipher: ſo that *Italie* wee will account it to ſtand wholy for the Papacie. For though the Princes, and other free States thereof, little like the Popes enlarging his temporall Dominion at home, being alreadie of a large ſize in proportion with theirs,

theirs, and especially for those pretences, which his Sea never wants.

And those extraordinary advantages with the concurrence of his spiritual supremacy, doe give by interdictions, excommunications, discharging oths of obedience, which above al other they have greatest cau'e to feare, both in regard of their huge company of priests, prelates, and friars, wherewith hee hath fortified himselfe mightily in their states. As also for that discontent with their cruell impositions, extortions, and oppressions have bred in their owne subiects, who wish rather, that all *Italie* were reduced into the handes of some one naturall potentate, whose greedinesse, how great soever, they were able to satisfie. And of the Popes above all men, who promiseth much lenitie by his late example at *Ferrara*, where he remitted many impostes which their late Dukes had raised, than to be thus daily racked and devoured by so many petty Tyrants, as it were with their prowling Gabilleres, whose ambitions and emulations, whose prides and pleasures, thirteene millions of yeerely revenew which *Italie* now yeeldeth them, is not able to satiate; though I say for these causes the princes and states of *Italie* no way favour the Popes strength in his temporall at home, considering withall, what swelling and turbulent spirits mount somtimes into that chaire, who have purposely set *Italie* on a flaming, for that in the sacking of many, themselves might get somewhat for the advauncing of such as nature and blood did cause them to love best; yet on the contrary side, for his spiritual power and soveraigntie abroade, they wish it vpheld and restored (if it were possible) both for the honour of their nation, which thereby their triumphant Queene of the worlde, and much more for the commoditie, which by vicinitie they and theirs reape thence in more aboundance than all other together, what by sharings, as occasion serveth in his bootes abroade, what by beeing alwayes in sight to receive favours at home, what by that which sticketh

keth to them in very passing thorow their Territories. Then to exclude any innovation, their owne safetie, & not quiet alone, perswades them, it being dangerous in a body so full of diseases, and discontented humors to change or stir any thing, seeing all alteration set humours on working, and one humour on foote, quickeneth vp all other, what allured by Sympathie, what by Antipathie provoked, the ende thereof is, eyther the dissolving of Nature by length of conflictes, or the disburthening of Nature, by expelling that which before didde oppresse it. For this cause no audience to be given to the reformation, as enemie to their peace, which is the Nurse of their riches, and sole Anchor to their safetie, and love of trueth didde sway this deliberation, the Worlde having in most places doone Religion this honour, as to remoove it out of those secret darke Cabinets of the heart, where the iealousie of some devout dreamers of the Gardens of Paradise had imprisoned it, and advaunced it vnto the faireſt sight and shew of the whole worlde, even for to make a maske of it, or rather, a very vizar, with mouth, eies, and nose, very fairely painted and proportioned to all pretenses and purposes. And others yet of more gallant and free spirite, have given it gennerall passe, to goe whither it selfe listeth, so that it come not neere them: It dooth much grieve mee to speake, yea the very thought of it must needes bring horror and detestation, what a huge multitude of Atheistes doe brave it in all places, and there most, where the Papacie is most in his prime? What renouncers of GOD, blasphemers of his onely begotten Sonne, villanisers of his Sainctes, and scorners of his service, who doe thinke it a glorious grace to adore a King of a Countrey; But to name or to thinke reverently of the Creator of the worlde, to proceede from a verie impious minde, and abiectoesse of so deepe reach and iudgement, are these Pedlers in theyr proportions, who doe knowe no other Magistrates, but

those

those of their parishes. These men are favourable alike to all Religions, but can best endure that wherein they are least checkt, and may range with most impunitie.

But for the Souldiary of this age, a profession and an exercise, reputed in olde time for an onelie Schoole of Vertue, but nowe infamed with all manner of vice and villanie, in olde time such, That the wisest Philosophers thought it reason sufficient, why the Lacedemonians were more vertuous than other nations, because they followed the warres, (at this day a cause of cleane contrarie effect) those desperate Atheismes, those Spanish renouncings, and Italian blasphemings, have now so prevayled in our christian campes, that if anie restraine them, hee shall be abraided as no souldiour nor gallant minded man, that the verie Turkes have the Christians blaspheming of Christ in execration, and will punish their prisoners sorely, whenas through impatience or desperateneese they burst into them. Yea the Iewes in their speculations of the causes, of the strange successes of the affaires of the worlde, assigne the reason of the Turkes prevailing so against the Christians, to be their blasphemies and blasphemous oathes, which wound the eares of the verie heavens, and crie vnto the high Throane of Iustice for speedie vengeaunce. As for Princes and great persons, it is a rare thing, and surely an happie, whereseever it falleth out of them, that hath anie extraordinarie store of religiousneese of anie sorte. Their example (I do speake of many of them) which might be the soveraigne of vertue, and re-establishers of a happy worlde, with the endleese blisse of many millions, now perishing thorow their default, is at this day the onelie ruine and despaire of goodneese, having forgotten whose Lievetenaunts they are in the worlde, for what end they are placed, for what cause they are honoured; and most of all, what great account they have to passe at the last Audite, when their favorites and fancie-feeding-flatterers shall all shrinke from them,

them, and nothing but their owne deedes and deſertes accompanie them. But all of theſe, whether Atheiſtes in opinion or converſation (betweene whome is ſmall choice) being reckoned or let paſſe to make vp the number; yet holde I, that from *Italie* more wiſh than other helpe to maintaine the Papacie abroade, by reaſon of the partition of it in ſuch a multitude of States, where the greater doe nothing but Lymbiche their braines in the arte of Alchemie, and ballancing to inrich themſelves, by the one drawing golde out of all things, and by the other, to poyſe their neighbors, and keep them of equall weight, their adding ſom help with their hand where the ſcales are lighter, and the leſſer States flie moſt to the protection of the chiefe, as the citties of *Geneva* and *Lucca*, the duke of *Vrbin*, the ſignior of *Prombino*, with certaine other, who all recognizing the king of *Spaine* for their Patron, as caſting by him to be ſufficiently ſecure from the encroachmentes of theſe other three. And counting that from him the vnited conſent of all the reſt, will ſtill preſerve them to whome his greatneſſe is fearefull, and his growing would bee pernicious. There have beene of them alſo, as the laſt Duke of *Ferrara*, who hath entertayned both amitie and ſtraight intelligence, with ſundrie of the Proteſtant Princes of GERMANIE, vppon purpoſe to holde their neighbours, and eſpecially the Pope, in, and off, calling in the Proteſtants to their ſuccor, if they ſhould eyther aſſayle, or otherwiſe provoke them. And thus much for *Italie*.

44 The next is *Spaine*, reputed wholy the Popes alſo, as having beene long times governed by the moſt devoted King, and longer curbed in by the moſt cruell Inquiſition that ever the world had, for the vpholding of that way, howbeit the State of *Spaine* is not to be paſſed ſo lightly over, wherein (although my ſelfe have never beene) yet by manifolde inquiry and information from ſome

ſome of their owne and others, who have beene in it men of knowledge and credite. Thus much doe I conceive as touching the ſtate of their religion: that as of a Nation that aimeth ſo apparantly at the Monarchy of the whole weſt, it is at this day none of the moſt puiſſant to atchieve the ſame, their Country being ſo generally exhauſt of men, what eaten vp by long warre, what tranſported into their huge number of Indian Collonies, that their Cities remaine now wholy peopled with women, having ſome old men among them, and many young children, whereof the grave attends the one, and forraigne ſervice the other: a fit ſtate for an Amaſonian Empire to be revived in. So likewiſe for a Kingdome that hath the ſurname of Catholike, none in greater danger in the world, either wholy, or in great part, to caſt off Chriſtianity, vnleſſe grace from above, and better wiſedome do ſtay the increaſe of thoſe peſtilent rankes of Mahumatiſme, and Iudaiſme, which threaten the finall decay and eating out the Chriſtianiſme. And to carry this matter with an indifferent courſe of repoſe, neither aggravating ſo much as ſome doe in their doubts and jelouſies, nor yet extenuating it ſo much as other ſome in their confidence and jollitie, ſeeing feare caſteth beyond lightly, and hope ſhort of the very danger.

There is in *Spaine* a ſort of people of the *Maurani*, (as they terme them) who are baptiſed Iewes and Moores: and many of them in ſecret, withall circumciſed Chriſtians, who are ſpread over the whole land, but ſwarme moſt in the South parts confining with *Affrica*, and are in ſuch ſtore, as in many places (as ſome ſay) they exceede the true Chriſtians by no ſmall proportion. For as for the Inquiſition, which was inſtituted of purpoſe againſt thoſe mungrell Chriſtians, ſome hundred yeares ſithence, at what time when King *Ferdinande*, by chaſing the Iewes and Moores, and Arabians, out of the Realmes of *Spaine*, merited the name of King Catholike: great numbers of

them choſe rather to make change of their religion in ſhew, then of their Country in deede, and conſented to receive baptiſme, which in ſecret they polluted, or denounced by circumciſion, or other ſuperſtitions, wherein the Arabians and Moores concurred with the Iewes, and ſo continued with a falſe face and double hart, and have tranſmitted both the one, and the other to their of-ſpring to this very day. This Inquiſition being firſt brought in to chaſtiſe theſe miſcreants, and received in *Aragon*, (a freer State then the reſt) for terme of eighty yeares: (beſides that, it is theirs in right, long ſince expired, & holdeth only by title of the Kings pleaſure and poſſeſſion: And the Portugales have now againe renewed their old ſuite, together with their old offer of eighty thouſand crownes, to buy it out in their Countries for their perſons, which it is thought this young King hath meaning to accept) the eye and edge of it hath been ſo wholy of late times converted to the rooting out of the reformed religion in all places, that the other ſort by neglecting them, have growne in ſtrength, and by their ſtrength now beginne to deſpiſe their chaſtiſers, whom feare (they ſay) inforceth often to winke at many things, which no eye open but needes muſt ſee. Thus fareth it with gardens wherein greater care is taken to pull vp the ſuſpected hearbes, then to keepe downe the apparant weedes: what further hopes this ſect may have, I know not. This is cleere, that a great part of the Spaniſh Nobility is mixed at this day with Iewiſh blood; they which ſay leaſt, and ſpeake favourably for the honour of *Spaine*, wil ſay, there are of them a hundred thouſand families, in which at the leaſt are a hundred thouſand men able to beare armes. All which, though confirming themſelves in ſome ſort and outward ſhew to the Chriſtian religion, yet are thought in heart to be vtterly adverſe from it, and to retaine an inward deſire to returne to that ſuperſtition from which their auncestours by rigour and terror were departed.

And

And the Iewes will say in *Italy*, that there come divers Spaniards to them to be circumcised there, and so away to *Constantinople*. To plant in the hast. The State of *Spaine* is in often feare of those mens rebelling, and specially that they would ioyne with any enemies that would invade them. For although they are forbidden to have any armes, and yearely search made for it over all *Spaine*, in an vnknowne and least suspected instant, yet is there no doubt but armed they are, and have their secret caves and devises to conceale them. This sort continually growing by living quietly at home, and the other part decaying daily by forraigne imployment, what the issue may be, though reason may probably coniecture, yet time onely and proofe can give assurance, by marrying of their younger brethren with the Iewes, for wealths sake, vpon whom in time, the elder failing, the honour and house hath descended. But to leave these *Maurani*, another pestilent sect there was not long since, of the *Illuminati* in *Aragon*, whose founders were a hypocriticall crew of their Priests, who affecting in themselves and their followers, a certaine angelical privity, fell suddainely to the very counterpoint of iustifying bestiality. But these men and their light are quenched some while since. The last and obscurest sort, are the poore persecuted Protestants, against whom, all lawes, all wits, all fortunes are strongly bent: all which notwithstanding, there are thought to be no fewer then twenty thousand in *Civil* it selfe, who in heart are that way: amongst whom, certaine bookes of their religion being secretly dispearsed, the Inquisitors for their number sake, who were to be touched, were required to forbeare, and to provide some other way. In summe, I have heard some of their owne Country and religion acknowledge, that among other things, the scandalls of their Clergy, and Friars, especially in forging miracles in their spirites and images, doth draw the people to loathing and suspition of their way. And were it not for the Inquisition, it is thought generally,

they would fall away, and turne Proteſtants in ſhort time. They have in *Spaine* (as is told me) a Crucifixe, whoſe haire and nailes fall a growing now in this old age, as in a dead man executed, the reſt not ſtirring: at which, the devout men of the Clergy girke vp their eyes, and the wiſer of the laitie waggeeaſily their heads. The holy Nunne of *Portugal*, of whome the Spaniards taken priſoners in 1588. made ſo much talking of, who had the five wounds bleeding on her, and the print of the crucifixe in the skinne of her breaſt, to whom that invincible Army repaired for benediction to ſet forward their victory, is lately diſcovered, and condemned for a Sorcereſſe, by a generall complaint of that whole ſiſterhood, who hating her for her arrogancy, and watching her fingers, in fine, diſcovered, that the one was but a forced rawneſſe of the fleſh, cauſed by fretting herbes and waters, when ſhe went to ſhew her ſelfe; and the other came by a continuall binding of a little graven crucifixe to that part which was ſo printed. The famous Lady *Guadalupa*, who tranſporteth through the ayre ſuch priſoners in *Affrica* as vow themſelves to her, is ſaid by ſome to have her credite impaired, by occaſion of a fugitive ſervant, who being runne from his Maiſter, was ſuborned by the Friars to play that flying part, complaining that our Lady for the wickedneſſe of this age, did reſtraine thoſe graces, but yet that it was a godly act to maintaine men in their devotions. In fine, he was diſcloſed and ſeiſed on by his Maiſter. But this is more certaine and of more generall report, that for the weeping and ſweating of their images, they have had a tricke in all places to boare holes behinde them, and put to them the new cut ſprigges of a vine, which being of a bleeding nature, and dropping eaſily thorow the thinne plaiſter, remaining vnpierced, make ſhew of teares or ſweate, as they liſt; yea, ſome of their Italian Friars have confeſſed withall, that their faſhion is when their Gimmalls are all in tune, for a miracle to enioyne ſome ſeely old woman in her confeſſions, to ſay her

devo-

devotions before the Altare, where the Image prepared to play a miracle doth ſtand, abuſing the weakeneſſe of her ſex & age, to report that confidently which her proneneſſe to thinke our Lady might extraordinarily love her, made her eaſily beleeve. Wiſe Gentlemen that have beene at the exorciſing of ſpirites, have obſerved plaine arguments of intelligence between the parties as in actors of Enterlude, though this ſhould away: and ſo were heard to avouch the multitude of the *Indemoniati* in *Italy*, (whereof moſt are women) being ſo huge even as of witches in *Savoy*, of which ſome are daily cured in ſhew by their Exorciſmes: but for one that is helped, twenty is either paſt their curing, or otherwiſe, as in counterfaits vnwilling to be cured. In ſumme, the falſhoods in all theſe kindes are growne ſo ordinary and palpable to themſelves, that ſome of their better Prelates have cauſed an Image of our Lady to bee taken away off his place, vpon the broaching of a report, that it diſcovered it ſelfe for a wonder-worker. So vnſavory is the foode of fooles, to the taſte of wiſe men; and ſuch is Gods curſe vpon all forgery and falſhood, as in the end, to overthrow that which chooſeth it for his foundation, as hath happened already in ſome places, and may with time in other.

45 Touching *Germany*, I have ſeene an old eſtimate of it by ſuch as favoured the Papacy, That in the beginning of *Ferdinand*, there was not paſt one twelfth part remaining Catholike, which now in my vnderſtanding muſt needs be otherwiſe. For comprehending in it *Bohemia* with his appurtenances, I ſhould thinke that neere a ſixt part were devoted that way, their number being increaſed, and perhaps doubled ſince that time, by the ſedulity of many of the Prelates and other great Princes. The Duke of *Bavaria*, who vſing the advantage of the Interim on their part, have forced thoſe Proteſtants which were in their States to quit, either religion, or goods and Country.

The ſame hath beene attempted by the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, and in ſome places, as in their Country of *Tirol* effected. But in *Auſtria* it ſelfe not ſo, wherein the number of Proteſtants exceedes and is fearefull to their oppoſites, though the publike exerciſe of their religion is reſtrained in ſome of the chiefe Cities, as in *Vienna*; but the moſt part of the Country are of it, ſo are halfe the nobility. The Duke of *Cleves* a third Prince, affected the ſame way, hath ſhewed himſelfe a little more moderate then ſome other, ſo adviſed by neighborhood. The free Cities which are of very great number and ſtrength, have all (ſave ſome very few) enheed themſelves frō the Pope, either in whole, or in greater part: the State of the Empire for that point, containing in it a very huge circuite of territory, full of mighty Princes, and well fortified cities: that if it were more ſtrictly vnited vnder one Monarchy, and not rent into factions with diverſity of religions, breeding endleſſe jealoſies, hart-burnings, and hatreds, it needes not other helpe to affront the great Turke, and to repulſe his forces to the ſecurity of Chriſtendome.

But in this ſo vnequall proportion of adherents to the Papacy, two things there are which gives them hope of better, if proſperous ſucceſſe doe second their well contrived proiects. The one is the creating the Emperour alwaies of their owne party, whereof they aſſure themſelves by theſe conſiderations; Firſt, there is no houſe in *Germany* at this day, of that infinite greatneſſe as is requiſite to withſtand the Turke in his incroachments, the houſe of *Auſtria* ſet aſide, who by their alliaunce, or rather neere intireneſſe with *Spaine*, and ſundry elective Kingdomes which runne neceſſarily vppon them, ſhall bee alwaies able to make head againſt any power in the world. And by their owne State, confining ſo immediately with the Turkes, ſhall be neceſſarily inforced to imploy the vttermoſt droppe of their blood to keepe them off: next, whenſoever the matter growes to the electi-

on

on of another new Emperour, they ſhall alwaies have the caſting voice, or rather in having entangled the States of *Bohemia* in ſuch bondes and promiſes. Beſides, there is no other whome they may make choyce of, that they may make no other accoumpt of it, then as being halfe hereditary. And laſtly, their late pollicy nowe ſtrengthened, by vſage of declaring a King of Romans in the Emperours life time, whileſt his preſence and power may governe the action, doe aſſure them, it ſhall alwaies paſſe with them roundely and quietlie.

The other ground of their hope, is the diviſion of the Proteſtants into their factions of Lutherans and Calveniſts, as they ſtile them, wherein the Miniſters of each ſide have ſo beſtirred themſelves, that a coale which a wiſe man with a litle moiſture of his mouth would ſoone have quenched, they with the winde of others have contrariwiſe ſo enflamed, that it threatneth a great ruine and calamitie on both ſides. And though the Princes and heads of the weaker ſides in thoſe parts, both *Palgrave*, and *Lanſgrave*, have with great wiſedome and iudgement, (to aſſaile thoſe flames) impoſed ſilence in that point to the Miniſters of the one partie, hoping the charity and diſcretion of the other ſort would have doone the like: yet it falleth out otherwiſe, the Lutherane Preachers rage hitherto in their pulpittes againſt the other as much as ever, and their Princes and people have them in as great deteſtation, not forbearing to profeſſe openly, they will returne to the Papacy, rather then ever admitte that Sacramentary and Predeſtinarie peſtilence. For theſe two pointes are the ground of the quarrell, and the latter more ſcandalous at this day then the former. And ſome one of their Princes, namely, the adminiſtratours of *Saxonie*, is ſtrongly miſdoubted to practiſe with the Emperour, for the ioyning of the Catholike and Lutherane ſect in one, and by war to roote out and extinguiſh the

Calve-

Calveniſts, the moſt plauſible motion of the Emperor that ever could happen. Neither is there any great doubt, but if any ſtay and agreement could bee taken with the Turke, all *Germany* were in danger to bein vproare within it ſelfe, by inteſtine diſcention: howbeit, all the Lutherans are not carried with this ſterne humour: but they only which are called *Lutherani rigidi*, the greater part, which are perhaps the *Molles Lutherani*, are quiet enough. Neither account they otherwiſe of the Calveniſts, then as of erring bretheren, whom the Rigidi party hath, as is ſaid, threatned to excommunicate as Schiſmatiques and Heretiques.

To this lamenatble extreamity hath the headineſſe of their Miniſters on both ſides brought it, whilſt in the peremptorineſſe of their poore learning, they cannot indure any ſuppoſed error in their bretheren, whereof themſelves, even the beſt of them perhaps (if they were well ſifted) would be found to be full enough: (ſuch take I to be the condition of all men of this world, and of their ignorance of all actions, ſave of their ſchooles and bookes) make more account of ſome ill ſhaped Sillogiſme, then of the peace of the Church, and happineſſe of the world, the end whereof will bee, that their enemies ſhall laugh when themſelves ſhall have cauſe to weepe, vnleſſe the gratiouſneſſe of G O D ſtirre vppe ſome worthy Princes of renowne and reputation, with both ſides to enterpoſe their wiſedome, induſtry, and authority, for the vniting of theſe factions, or at leaſtwiſe, for reconciling and compoſing thoſe differences in ſome tollerable ſort. A worke of immortall fame and deſert, and worthy of none but them, of whom this wicked baſe world is not worthy. But heereof I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeake in his due place; for this place it ſuffiſeth, that theſe intrinſicall quarrells, are the hopes which make their enemies hold vp their heads, and quickneth their expectations to ſee the blades of theſe reformers drawne one againſt another,

ther; that themselves being called to the beating downe of the one partie, may afterwardes in good time assaile the other. In the meane season, planting in all places their Colledges, of Iesuites, as the onely corsive medicine to frette out their adversaries: Now on the other part, the hopes are also not fewe: besides, their over-topping of them so much in multitude and power.

First the *Germanes* bearing a naturall stiffe hate to the *Italians*, for his winding and subtile witte, which dispiseth and would ransacke him, but that hee oppresseth a proude stoutnesse, and intractable obstinacie, which serveth alwayes as a wall of defence to simplicitie, will hardly (what tempering soever the Princes make) be brought ever to reaffect the Papacie, whose sleightes and devises they are throughly acquainted with, and have in more detestation, than any Nation whatsoever. And for their owne inwarde dissentions, it is to bee hoped, that though no courses were taken to compound them, yet never will they bee so madde, as to decide them by a generall open warre, having on both sides, the Turke, Pope, and Emperour to ioyne them in frienshippe. For although the contention of brethren bee bittereſt, yet a common strong enemie alwayes maketh them friends againe. And as for the Administrator so much suspected, who prowles, as some say, in the sette practises for his owne greatnesse, his authoritie is but short, and expireth within three yeeres. Then for having an Emperor of some more indifferent familie, though their desire be in that point of all other greatest, yet their hope is (as I suppose) least, and that which is, seemeth to be grounded vpon Electors of *Colen*, either if the olde Elector *Gerardus Trachesius* should live so long, whom in that case they might by force restore to his place, from which he standeth now by force reiected, yet retaineth his claime still, and stile of Elector. Or if some other of that Sea, might be induced to follow the steps of two of their aunceſtors, who have turned Protestants, of which

cauſe that place wilbe alwayes in danger, by reaſon of ſuch vicinitie and interrumping of their ſtate with Proteſtant Princes. Beſides, in *Collen* it ſelfe the religion hath alreadie footing, or at the leaſt wiſe might be drawne to that civill indifferencie, as in preſerving their freedome of election to change once in an age; that familie of *Auſtria* wherein the Emperour having continued theſe ſeven diſcents, may in time be eſtabliſhed by preſcription. And laſtly, for the Ieſuites their great Patron and planter, the old Duke of *Bavaria*, having now reiected himſelfe into their College, and reſigned his ſtate to his Sonne *Dyamymlian*, who it is thought doth diſfavour them, as much as his father doted on them. Theſe and other ſuch chaunges may give ſtay to their proceedings. But to leave theſe ho; hopefull ſpeculations on both ſides; and to take matters in termes they ſtand now, and may ſo continue. The benefit which the Papacie may expect from the Empire, is, rather to keepe matters in that ſtay they are, then anie way to reſtore it where it hath beene diſpoſed. For although the Turkiſh warres ſhould ceaſe, which is not vnlikely, conſidering the calme nature of both Emperours, who take more delight in Chambers then fields, yet ſhall our Chriſtian Emperour be enforced ſtill in fortifying and mainteyning Garriſon all along his Frontires and confines, ſo to exhauſt his owne treaſure, and employ his people; ſo that hee will not bee able to doe elſe-where any extraordinarie matter, without helpe extraordinarie, which is never over-readie, and Time which may produce manie accidents in his favour, may alſo produce in his diſfavour as many. And by ſo many the more, as the ground out of which in thoſe partes they may grow, is manifoldly larger againſt him then for him.

Now for the low Countreys, the Papacie hath two thirdes with it, and of the *Swiſſers* and *Griſons*, two thirds, againſt it of the *Swiſſers* alſo. The Proteſtants are lightly the wealthier, and the Papiſts more warre-like, which

which may suffice for those partes of *Fraunce*; how much the better it is knowne vnto vs at home, so much the lesse shall I neede to speake much in this place. Neither is it verie easie to proportion the parties, by reason they of the Religion are so scattered in all places; yet in *Poicton* almost all, in *Gascoine* an halfe; in *Languedocke*, *Normandie*, and other West Maritime provinces, a reasonable strong part, as likewise in sundrie mediterrane parts. But whatsoever the proportion of the number to their opposites, which is manifoldly inferior, not one to twentie, their strength is such, as their warres have witnessed. And especially that at this day, notwithstanding such massacring them, so generall arising of the whole realme against them, by the vttermost extremitie of fire and sword, to exterminate them, they are esteemed to be stronger than at anie time heretofore. In summe, so strōg, that neither have their adversaries any great hope, I weene, and themselves not in feare to be borne downe by warres; that their practises of peace (which hath sorely already bitten and afflicted their states) by depriving them of place, of office, & honor in the realm, confining the exercise of ther religion into chambers and remote corners, did not impoverish, debase, and disharten the partie, and so withdraw those from them that otherwise would sticke to them. That is it which they misdoubted, and by the Edict now past, and verified, have sought to remedie. But looking more attentively into this partie, I find, that as conscience, in what Religion soever dooth even in the mists of errour, breed an honestnesse of minde, and integritie of life and actions in whome it settleth; So divine and pure vertue, as the love of the Creator, which is the ground of all that merite the name of the Religious; so also, that in them that effect the greatnesse, and in a manner, a verie careless simplicitie in their Religion, as contenting themselves with the possession of the rich treasure of truth, and for the preserving of it, or themselves, recommending those cares

to God onely, yet tract of afflictions, much miſeries, often over-reaching by ſubtilne of adverſaries, dooth finally purge out thoſe groſſe witted humours, and doth ingender a verie curious and advauntagious warines in all their proceedings, having learned by experience the wiſdome of the Aphoriſme: That a ſmall error in the foundation and beginning of all things, doth prove in the proceeding and end of them, a great miſchiefe, as hath fallen out in theſe men, who dooth ſ farre herein out go their oppoſites, in all civill policies, as in other places they of the religion are lightly out-gone by them, which next vnto divine bleſſings which accompanieth good cauſes, where wickedneſſe or wilfull witteleſneſſe dooth not barre againſt it, I account their chiefe reaſon of their preſent ſtrength and aſſurance, by their providence in their capitulations, by their reſolutions in their executions, by their induſtrie, and dexteritie in all occaſions preſented, they have poſſeſſed themſelves of an exceeding great number of ſtrong townes or places, there is ſcant any office or eſtate can fall voide, but that they lay in by all meanes to get into it. They have Synods for their church affaires, their commentions and Counce's for their civill, their people is warrely, ſo will they continue them: for leaders a matter of maine importaunce, they are above their adverſaries, having beſides thoſe three, of principall and knowne name, other in *Guſtonie* of leſſe place and degree, but in skill and valour not inferiour to the beſt. In fine, they have learned the wiſedome of *Spes ſibi quiſque &c:* the contrarie whereof before-brought, brought them ſo neere to their ruine. But now touching the weakeneſſe of them of the Romane Religion, in compariſon of that ſtrength which their multitude ſhould promiſe much more be ſaide. Firſt one great part of them are in heart with the reformed Religion, though for worldly reſpects they hold in with the other: alſo will beginne to diſcloſe themſelves dayly, thoſe things being now ſetled in reaſonable ſort, which have hitherto beene but in motion:

Secondly,

Secondly, they are not all Papists that hold with the masse, but the Catholiques are heere divided into as different opinions, and in as principall matters as the Protestants in any place that ever I heard of, although their discretion and moderation is such, as not to interprete the common concord with private opinions.

The ground of which disagreements in opinion (as I do take it) is the antient diversitie between the Roman church and the *Galatians*, which as in many of their ceremonies, differs much from the Roman church, as to omitte sundry other in the priests torions of the Masse, and in their walking hymnes at Vespers, and some of them rather runnes with the vsage of the Greeke church (as in their holy bread on Sundayes for them that do not communicate) so also in the very head point of their ecclesiasticall governement, it holdeth the generall Councel to be above the Pope, which opinion is at this day very currant and strong, even among such Catholiques as favour the Papacy, which I reckon for the first diffrence touching the estate of the Church, which calleth into question, in whome the very Soveraigntie and Supremacie thereof is placed. An other sorte are there, which holde their Church to be the true church, although they acknowledge sundry errours and abuses of lesse importance, both in doctrine and practise. But for the Pope they holde resolutely, that he is that Antichrist, which sitting in the Temple (that is in the true Church of God) for even by his very being Antichrist, some prove they are the true church, dooth advaunce himselfe above God as they thinke apparant, by his dispensing with the lawe of God, by the marchaundizing of Soules, in his purgatorie pardons, releasing them in an other worlde; whome divine sentence hath bound, as also by his Indulgences for great summes of mony in this world. And note last of all by his arrogating the possibilitie of erring, being a propertie peculiar vnto God, and not communicated, but onely at times to the extraordinary Prophets, as all Churches in the world

beſides the Romane acknowledgeth. This ſorte ſpreadeth farre, and as themſelves will ſay of the learned ſorte, three parts of foure conſent in this opinion. And they which are moſt devoted to the Pope, and in that reſpect doe hate this realme above all other, confeſſe that the Lawyers are greatly infected; in which regard alſo ſome terme theſe the Parliament Catholiques. Theſe opinions thus prevailing among the Catholiques of *Fraunce*, it is not to be marvelled, that the realme was ſo ready vppon the Popes to re-bleſſe the King vpon converſion to them, to withdrawe vtterly from the obedience of his Sea, and to erect a new patriarch over all the French Church. The now Archbiſhoppe of *Burges*, who was ready to accept it; and but that the Pope in feare thereof did haſten his benediction, it had been effected, to his vtter diſgrace and decay: As the proffer and probabilitie thereof will hold him in awe, and in good temper of carriage to his kingdome, and content to beare indifferent ſway with them in any things as on the contrary ſide, his great doubt of the French vnſoundneſſe to him at the heart, wil cauſe him the leſſe to favour any of their footings in *Italie*.

Now theſe men, though they diſlike alſo of the reformed religion, as having brought in an extreame innovation of all things, inſtead of a moderate reformation of what was iuſtly blameable, yet will carry themſelves alwayes in likelihoode in an indifferent neutralitie, rather than by extinguiſhing the one extreame to overſtrengthen the other. A third parte of this ſide we may make the Royaliſts, who as much as they diſlike the attempts of the Proteſtants in alteration of religion, ſo much and more do they hate thoſe miſchevous courſes taken by their adverſaries againſt them, which have threatened ſo neere ruine to the whole ſtate of the kingdome, that it may ſhew halfe a miracle that it hath ever recovered, being ſo long a time at the very point, either of ſhivering in peeces, (as hath happened heeretofore in other countries in like caſe, or of rending it ſelfe into the fur-

furnitude of that hatefull name of their neighbours. This parte having by experience learned the wisedome knowne, That the quarrel of religion is but a cloake of ambition for the great ones. At this day many Traytours intents passe vnder catholike pretences; that the Protestants will be alwaies a sure enemy to the Spaniard; and to all his favorites, practizans, and perfionaries: that whilest hee may be suffered to enioy libertie of conscience, without anie disabling or disgrace in the state, he will be in all occasions readie to serve the King to his vtmost, and forward by desertes to maintaine his favours; that it is not so easie a matter to extirpate them, as some thinke, having so deepe roote in the realme as they have, besides the favour of so many great princes their neighbours abroad, who are ingaged and imbarked in the same very cause. And that although it were to be wished for the happines of the kingdome, which during this diversitie and dissention in religion shall breede greater securitie to their neighbours than to themselves; that if it were possible, some course were taken for a finall re-vniting of all into one profession, yet this being not to be hoped for in this exasperation of mindes on both sides, must be commended to Time, which workes out manie things to occasion, which effecteth even wonders on a sodaine. And finally, to some generall good way to bee taken by the ioynt consent of wise and woorthie princes for effecting like vnitie over all christendome, if it may be in these considerations, this parte, which with his appurtenaunces is nowe the greatest, will never advise the King to become head of a party, againe, so long as hee may be absolute commaunder of whole, having found slidmg course in such strength of both partes, to be a false governour, ruinous to them that take it. To these may be annexed those morall men (as they call them) who thinke not these adversities of opinions, as that they ought to disswade them, who in the love of God, in the beleefe of the fundamentall Articles of Christian faith, in integritie and honestie of conversati-

verſation, which are the greateſt bondes remayne vnited, much leſſe that they ought to enrage mens minds ſo farre, as to cauſe them to take armes to decide the quarrell, which are not theſe Inſtruments wherewith either errour ſhould be raiſed, or trueth or religion planted. And finally, to this parte may be added all thoſe who affect a quiet worlde and peace above all things, which is the deſire of thoſe lightly, who in a middle degree of condition poſſeſſe alſo a moderate temper of affections, which is ordinarily the greateſt parte in all well ordered commonwealths. And withall, farre ſureſt and firmeſt to the ſtate. Nowe of theſe will be eaſily drawne to enter into any violent courſe againſt thoſe of the reformed religion, ſo long as they have diſcretion, by no iealouſie to provoke them. The laſt parte is indeede of the vowed and forſworne enemies the Leaguers and rebells (as ſome name them) over the greateſt and moſt favoured parte of the realme at this day not ſo, their plauſible pretences being now diſmasked, and their diſaſtrous ſucceſſe in their diſorderly actions, which hath brought things to the very counterpoynt of that they aymed at, and left nothing but a memorie of much trouble and miſerie, with the waſting of the people, the ſacking of Citties, the harrowing and deſolating of the Countrey, with imminent danger of vtter overthrowe for ever of the realme, making them hatefull and deſpiſed in thoſe very ſame minds, wherin they were erſtwhiles inſhrived with all devotion, which reaſons have ſo abated alſo the hawtines of their hopeleſſe heades, who lately breathed nothing but Crownes and Scepters, but glory to their followers, and have turned their ſong of Soveraignety to a more peaceable and calme tune of, *Nec veterum memini Lecorum malorum*, howbeit right zealous men of the baſer ſorte, lightly poſſeſſed with Friars, who fill them with furies againſt their religion, are as malitious and ragefull againſt the Proteſtants as ever; and thirſt after nothing ſo much as to embrew themſelves once againe in their blood, which they ſticke not to profeſſe,

and

and indeede, had they heads and opportunities, would accomplish.

46. The number of these is verie great and desperate, but impuissaunt, base, and broken with these in heart, loyne in a maner all the Clergie, who count their religion and reformation, their bane, and the verie calamitie of their estate for ever. A great error among other, as was observed by the worthie Chauncellour *Mounsier* W. L. Hospitall in the plot and proceedings of the first Protestants of *Fraunce*, to alienate so respected and pollute a part of the Realme, by leaving them no hope of any tolerable condition, vnder the reformed state, when the following the wiser courses of their moderate neighbors, they might have gained to them in greatest part as others did. Now this part which are the onely assured enemies of the Protestants, and of whom they make account, that they will not faile them at a neede, dooth come short of them, perhaps in strength, though in multitude farre exceede them, whereas this also not to bee least considered, that as in the bodie of a man, the humors draw still to the sore; so in a state, all averse and discontented persons doe associate themselves lightly to the part grieved and prosecuted. This take I to be the present estate of the factions in *Fraunce*: For matters of Religion submitting my opinion (as in all other things) to be censured and reformed by whomsoever with more experience and deeper iudgement shal have waded in, and weighed these considerations. But to make any farre reachor coniecture for the time to come, that will not I be so sawcie as to doe in French affayres, whose Mintes are so full of Quick-silver, that the nimble wittes would take it; perhappes in dudgeon, that should presume to imagine they would plod on in any tenor with that dull constancie which their heavier mettald neighbours doe vse, being able even in fresh experience to boast, that their lightnesse of spirit, and mutabilitie of resolutions, have suddenly recovered them from those termes of extremities within the handes of any con-

ſtant nation in the world, had beene a very long care, if not deſperate and careleſſe. But verily this diſſention and diverſitie in Religion, is ſtill a verie great weakneſſe and diſeaſe in their eſtate, and ſuch as will be alwayes a matter of iealouſie amongſt themſelves, of aſſurance of their neighbours, of ioy to their enemies: For *Lorraine*, and *Savoy*, with the vaſſals who confine on *Savoy*, they runne wholy in a manner with the ſtreame of the Papacie, though in both parts there be ſtore of Proteſtants, and that of men of the better ſort, but without any publicke ſhewe of their Religion, liue onely in ſome out Shyres of *Savoy* neare *Berne*, and *Geneva*. What *Madam* the Kings ſiſter may effect in *Lorraine* or contrariwayes, her ſelfe may ſuffer, time onely by triall is able to aſcertaine. Theſe particulars thus admitted, it will be no great difficultie to make ſome comparative eſtimate of the whole ſtrengh of the Papacie, in reſpect of the Prieſtes, being the part now onely on foote againſt them. For as for the great Church, the eaſe is evident, that though it bee granted, that they exceede any other, yet are they ſo oppreſſed vnder Turkiſh tyrannie, or remooved ſo farre off, as the Moſcovite, and ſome others, that they come not into any account in the ſurveigh of the ſtrength which nowe wee ſpeake of. But for Weſterne and Latine Churches in the generall diviſion into the part reformed, and part Papall, admitting them in number and circuite of territories to bee neare equall. As conſidering the huge compaſſe of *Germanie*, an Empire poſſeſſed ſo wholie in a manner by the Proteſtantes, I can make no other expoſition. In other pointes wee ſhall finde great oddes and advauntage, for ſtrength indifferent, kinde on both ſides; Firſt, the Kingdomes and States of the Romiſh parte, lyng nearer the Sunne, are not onelie in riches, both naturall, of their ſoyle, and acceſſorie, by great opportunitie of traffique to all partes of the Worlde, by manifolde degrees ſuperiour to their Northern adverſaries, but

but also in a fineneſſe and ſubtiltie of witte, which having that other inſtrument of wealth to worke by, dooth farre paſſe in all ordinarie and orderly actions. That robuſtiouſneſſe of bodie, and puiſſaunce of perſon, which is the onely fruit of ſtrength, that thoſe colder climates doe yeelde, though ſometimes extraordinarilie, it is knowne and to bee graunted, that thoſe Septentrionall inundations by their verie violence and multitude, as in people more generative, have ſo wholie dilumniated over all the South, that as a rayning tempeſt, they have ranaged and ruined thoſe powerfull and flouriſhing Empires, in the ſuddenneſſe of an inſtant, which had beene manie ages in rearing and ſpreading it ſelfe over the worlde.

37 But theſe have beene no other than currents, or brookes of paſſage, ſoone vppe, ſoone downe; ſoone come, ſoone over-gone; neither have they the Northern people ever yet for all their multitude and ſtrength, had the honour of being founders or poſſeſſors of anie great Empire; ſo vnequal is the combate betweene force, and witte in all matters of durable and gronnded eſtabliſhment. An other point of great advauntage in the ſelfe ſame ſide, is the vniting of their forces into foure heades, and mightier, which vniting is a verie redoubling of ſtrength in all things, they royally and pontifically in the middeſt and chiefeſt, regarding the riche Sunne in his glorious riſing, and the Moone in the height of her beautifull walke, on his left hande, the Emperour. The auncient Romanes of honour, on his right hande the King of *Spaine*, the new planet of the Weſt: at his backe the French King, the eldeſt ſonne of the Church, all mightie Monarches, oppoſed as braſen walles againſt his enemies on all ſides about him: And the leſſer Prince and States of *Italie*, as matter rather of ſolace and honour then otherwiſe, and to exerciſe himſelfe as his humours of favours or diſpleaſure ſhall adviſe, whereas on

the contrarie parte the onelie puiſſaunt Prince, in any compariſon with thoſe other, is her Maieſtie of *England*, whoſe State is ſo divided from all the reſt of the worlds that it is the leſſe fit in that reſpect for the reſt to make head at. The other have the Pope as a common father, adviſer, and conducter to them all, to reconcile their iarres, to appeaſe their diſpleaſures, to decide their differences, and finally, to vnite their indevours in one courſe, to inſtance, to preſſe them, to remoove eſtoppes, to adde encouragement by aide from himſelfe above all things, to draw their religions by conſent of Counſells, to a vnitie, or likeneſſe and confirmity. In all prefaces a principall pillar or ſtay to the vnlearned multitude, of glory to themſelves, of vpbraidings to their enemies, whereas on the contrary ſide, the Proteſtants are as ſevered, or rather ſcattered troopes, each drawing adverſe away, without any meanes to pacifie their quarrells, to take vp their controverſies without any bond to knitte them, their forces or courſes in one noble Prince, with any prehemi nence of iuriſdiction above the reſt; no Patriarke, one, or more, to have a common ſuperintendaunce, or care of their Churches for correſpondencie and vnitie; no ordinary way to aſſemble a generall Counſell of their part, the onely hope remaining ever to aſſwage their contentions, and the onely deſire of the wiſeſt and beſt minds amongſt them. Every Church almoſt of theirs, hath his ſeverall formie and frame of government, his ſeverall Liturgy and faſhion of ſervice. And laſtly, ſome ſeverall opinion from the reſt, which though in themſelves they be matters of no great moment, being no differences eſſentiall, orin any part capitall, yet have they been, are, and will be as long as they continue, cauſes of diſlikes, of iealoſies, of quarrels, and of dangers.

Inſumme, whatvnitie ſoever is amongſt them, proceeds only from the meere force and vertue of verity which all perſons ſeeke for; which, though it bee incomparably

the

the beſt and bleſſedeſt, and which alone dooth vnite the ſoule with God: yet for order in the worlde, for quiet in the church, for avoyding of ſcandall, for propagating and increaſe, of what great power that other vnitie is which proceedes from authoritie, the Papacie which ſtandeth by it alone may teach vs. In fine, both concurring to attaine the praiſe of perfection. Theſe then are the advantages on the parte of the Papacie. But nowe one diſadvantage (ſuch is the nature of all things) impeacheth and diverteth all other their forces, and that is their vicinitie with their grand enemie the Turke, who by land and Sea preſſeth hard both vppon the Emperour, Pope, and the Monarchie of *Spaine*, and driveth them oftentimes to ſuch extaſies of deviſes, that *Spaine* hath no other ſhifts to cleere himſelfe, than by diverting vppon his owne deere brethren of *Auſtria*, and cauſing him to fall foule vppon his friend the Emperour, wherein hee is driven yet to a twofolde charge, both in bribing the *Baſhawes*, to draw their Lord into *Germanie*, and in ſupporting there the Emperour with money to withſtand him. The Emperour on the other ſide calleth the Proteſtants for his aide, without whome the whole Empire were in daunger to wrecking: The Pope, who of all other is in deepeſt feare, though not yet in the neereſt, knowing that the finall marke that the Turkes ſhooteth at, is *Italie*, As thincking that to be the banner nowe onely remaining to be ſett vp for the accompliſhing and the perfection of his Empire. And that the warres with the Emperour, are but to open that land paſſage, foraſmuch as by Sea hee hath alwayes prooved the weaker, beſturres himſelfe on all ſides, in the beſt ſorte he is able, both in ſending ſuch ayde as his proportion wil beare, and eſpecially in ſoliciting of the Princes of his parte to enter into a common league, and warre againſt him, giving overture of like deſire for the Proteſtants alſo. But the Proteſtants would knowe what ſecuritie and quiet they ſhall have from himſelfe firſt, their neere and ſterne, and

vnplacable enemie, before they waſte out themſelves, in giving ayde vnto him againſt a common enemie indeede: But one who is furtheſt off from them of all other, who as now is deſirous enough to entertaine their friendſhip, and who at the worſt hand, carrieth no more cruell hate againſt them and their profeſſion, neyther condemneth their religion more than the Pope their fellow chriſtian. Then for his Catholiques and Polaques, they cleerely ſtript collar, both for the naturall hatred they beare the Germanes; and for that they are in peace and amitie with the Turke, paying a certaine tribute. And although his neere neighbors, yet not in his way, which is not to the North; but to the ſunne, and to the South partes, and mainely and plainely to the conqueſt of *Italie*. The Venetians are content alſo to live rather as free tributaries to the Turke, as they now are, than as ſlaves vnto *Spaine*, who in ioyning with them heeretofore in league againſt the Turke, and Pope *Pius Sixtus*, didde contrary to his oath and bond forſake them, and ſuffer them to be beaten, being left alone to the Turks furie. And all this to the end, that having their ſtate vtterly maymed and broken by the Turke; they might be conſtrained wholy to caſt themſelves, their ſoveraignetie, and cittie, into the armes and embracements of *Spaine* for ſafegarde. With this vnchriſtian treacherie have they charged him heeretofore, though nowe all beeing quiet, they are content to putte an vnacceptable motion to ſilence, by demaunding of impoſſible conditions of ſecuritie. Then for *Fraunce* it is farre off, and looke that the neerer be (as they ought) more forward firſt, and requireth alſo with reaſon ſome breathing time to revive himſelfe after his wearineſſe by his late pangs. Laſtly, *Spaine* hath ſo much to doe with *Engiand*, and the revolted Provinces, that hee thinketh the time gained that the Turke forbeareth him: So that in the end the whole burthen muſt reſt on the Emperor, with that ſmall helpe that *Italie* and ſome others do yeelde him: And were it not his good fortune, or rather, Gods good

providence, that the very ſame plagues that have ruined the glory and grace of Chriſtendome, ſhould nowe infect alſo the grand enemy thereof, namely, Effeminateneſſe and Avarice, whereof the one is the corrupter of all ſound deliberations, and the other the quailer of all manly executions, which prevayling in his eſtate, as they do at this day give hope that his tyranny groweth toward his period, and for the preſent proved ſo, that a weake defendant may ſhift better, having no other than a cowardly aſſailant. This matter would have growne to that extremitie by this time, as could have called the King of *Spaine* with all his forces to ſome more honourable enterpriſes than hee hath hitherto vndertaken. And this to bridle that holdes in the Papacie with all her felows from any vniverſall proceeding by force againſt the Proteſtants, who heerein are greatly advantaged above them; in that either their oppoſites lie betweene them and the Turks, or in that their Countries coaſting ſo much as they doe towardes the North are out of his waie, and no parte of his preſent ayme. But thoſe advantages and diſadvantages of the Papacie equally weighed, I ſuppoſe this diſadvantage more miſchievous for the preſent, as proceeding from outward force in the handes of an enimie; and the other advantages more ſtable, as ſpringing from the inwarde ſtrength of their owne wealth and order.

48 This then being ſo, and that all things conſidered, there falleth out, if not ſuch indifferencie and equalitie, yet at the leaſtwiſe, ſuch a proportion of ſtrength vpon both ſides, as bereaveth the other of hope ever by warre to ſubdue them, ſeeing (as the proverbe is) A dead woman will have foure to carry her foorth, much leſſe will able men be eaſily beaten out of their homes, and ſeeing there is no apparance for ever forcing an vnitie, vnleſſe Time, which eateth vp all things, ſhoulde bring in great alterations: it remaineth to be conſidered, what other kinde of vnitie poore Chriſtendome may hope for, whether vnitie

tie of Veritie, or vnitie of Charitie, or vnitie of Perſwaſion, or vnitie of Authoritie, or vnitie of Neceſſitie, there beeing ſo many other kinds and cauſes of concord: A kind of men there are whom a man ſhall meet with in all Countries, not many in number, but ſundry of them of ſingular learning and pietie, whoſe godly longings to ſee Chriſt endome re-vnited in the love of the Authour of the name above all things, and annexed in brotherly correſpondencie and amitie, as beſeemeth thoſe, who vnder the chiefe ſervice of one Lord, in the poſſeſſion of one ground and foundation of faith, doe exſpect the ſame. Finally, rewarde of glorie, which proceeding from the Father and Prince of Peace, reiecteth all ſpirits of contention, from attaining it hath entred into a meditation, whether it were not poſſible, that by the travell and mediation of ſome calmer mindes that at this day vſually write, or deale on eyther ſide theſe flames of controverſie might be extinguiſhed or aſtated, and ſome tollerable peace re-eſtabliſhed in the church againe. The iuſtnes of their vertuous deſires to ſee it ſo, hath bred in them an opinion of poſſibilitie that it might be wrought; conſidering firſt, that beſides infinite other poynts not controverſed, there is a full agreement in the foundation of religion, in thoſe ſame Articles which the twelve Apoſtles delivered vnto the Church; perhappes not an abridgement onelie of the faith, but even as a touch-ſtone alſo of the faithfull for ever: that whilſt there was an entire conſent in them, no diſcent in other opinions ſhoulde breake peace and communion. And ſecondly, conſidering alſo there are in great multitude on both ſides, (for ſo are there vndoubtedly) men vertuous and learned, fraught with the love of God and the truth; above all things, men of memorable integrity of heart and affections, whoſe lives are not deere vnto them, much leſſe their labours to be ſpent for the good of Gods Church and people, by whoſe ioynt indevours, and ſingle, and ſincere dealings in common conference for the ſearch

of truth, that honourable vnitie of vetitie might be eſtabliſhed. But if the multitude of crooked and ſide reſpects, which are the onely clowdes that eclipſe the trueth from ſhining more lightly on the face of the world, and the onely prickes which ſet forwards mens affections, as not to conſider and follow what were for the beſt, doe cauſe that this cheefe vnitie finde ſmall acceptation, as it is to be feared at leaſtwiſe, that the endleſneſſe and ill fruites of theſe contentions which tend mainely to the increaſe of Atheiſme within, of Mahumatiſme abroad, by which obſtinacy the Iewes ſhake the faith of Chriſtians, taint the better mindes of acerbity, and load the words with poiſon, which breake ſo out into their actions, which themſelves thinketh holieſt, namely, the defence of Gods truth, which each ſide challengeth; that in thinking they offer vp a pleaſing ſacrifice to God, they give cauſe of wicked ioy vnto his and their enemies; that thoſe wofull effects with very tedious wearineſſe, may draw both parts; in fine to ſome tollerable reconciliation, or to ſome vnity of charity: at leaſtwiſe, to ſome ſuch as may bee leaſt to eithers preiudice. Let the one ſide give over their worſhipping of Images, and offering ſupplication to Saints, their offenſive ceremonies, their Indulgences, their vſing of ſtrange language not vnderſtoode in their devotions; (all which themſelves confeſſe, not to be neceſſarie to be orders of the Church and ſuch as at pleaſure thee may diſpence with) yea Pope *Clement* the ſeaventh gave ſome hope to the French king, that hee would not be ſtiffe in things of this qualitie, and that the reſpect of time might iuſtifie the alteration; and ſome of the later Popes condeſcended to them of *Bavaria*, the cuppe of the Sacrament, hoping that would have contented them, which ſince, they, or their ſucceſſors have taken from them againe: On the other parte let the Proteſtants (ſuch at leaſtwiſe, as ſeeke to purge out that negative and contradictorie humour, of thinking they are then righteſt, when they are vnlikeſt the Papacy; & then neereſt

to God, when furtheſt from *Rome*.) Let them I ſay looke with the eye of charity vpon them, as well as of ſeverity, and they ſhall finde ſome excellent orders of government, ſome ſingular helpes for increaſe of godlineſſe and devotion, for the conquering of ſinne, for the profiting of vertue: and contrariwiſe, in themſelves, looking with a more ſingle and leſſe indulgent eye then they doe, they ſhall finde there is no ſuch abſolute perfection in their doctrine and reformation, or ſome dreames in the pleaſing view of their owne actions do fancie: Neyther ought they to thinke it ſtrange, they ſhould be amiſſe in any things but rather a very miracle, if they were not ſo in many; For if thoſe antient Fathers and Sages of the Church, who with greater helpes, being neere the times of puritie, with equall induſtry, ſo ſpending their lives with leſſe cauſe of vnſinceritie, having nothing to ſeduce them; notwithſtanding, were not able in their weakeneſſe and blindeneſſe of their humane nature in this worlde, to ſoare vppe ſo high alwaies in the ſearch of truth, as to finde out her right ſtate in the height of the heavens, but ſometimes Error to bee dwelling nearer them inſteede thereof: How leſſe likely that our age, more intangled with the worlde, further remooved from thoſe faultleſſe inſtitutions, and ſo bitterly exaſperated with mutuall controverſies and conflicts, ſhould attaine to that excellency and perfection of knowledge, which (it may be) God hath remooved from mans reach in this world, to humble him, and to increaſe his longing towards another world. And as the preſent time doth diſcover ſundry errors in the former, ſo no doubt will the future in that which is now preſent: ſo that ignorance and error, which ſeldome goe ſevered, being no other then vnſeperable companions of man, ſo long as hee continueth in his terreſtriall pilgrimage, it can be no blemiſh to them to reviſe their doctrine, and to abate the rigor of certaine ſpeculative opinions, eſpecially touching

the

the eternall decrees of God, the quality of mans nature, the vse of his workes, wherein some of their chiefe Authors have come to such an vtter opposition to the Romish doctrine, as to have exceedingly scandalized all other Churches withall, yea and many of their owne to rest very ill satisfied. The state of truth is aloft, that of vertue in the middest alwaies; both places of honour, but neither truth nor vertue draw to an vtter extreamity. And as in some points of doctrine, so much more in their practise in order of government and ecclesiasticall degrees, in solemnities and statelinesse in the service of God, in some exercise of piety, devotion and humility, especially in set fastings, accompanied with due contrition of heart and prayer. Besides, in many other ceremonies, they might easily without offence of conscience at all, frame to draw somewhat neerer to their opposites then now they are, which yeelded on both sides a generall and indifferent confession & summe of faith, an vniforme liturgy, a correspondent forme of Church-government to bee made of the points which both should agree in, and to be established vniversally throughout all Christendome, that this all Christians should necessarily hold, this onely their Divines in pulpites should teach, and this their people in Churches should exercise; which doone, the vnity of communion should remaine vnviolated for all other questions to bee confined to the Schooles, to Counsells, and to the learned languages which are the proper places to trie them; and it should be lawful for each man to believe as he found cause, not condemning others with such peremptorinesse as is the guise of some men of over-weening conceits: & al this to be done by some generall counsel assembled & composed indifferently out of both sides, mens mindes being before hand prepared and directed to this issue and conclusion.

But now, if either the obstinacies of the Popes ambition, or the wilfulnesse or scrupulosity of any opinionative

Miniſters ſhould oppoſe againſt, and impeach this vnitie of charities then the vnitie of authoritie to bee interpoſed to aſſiſt it. That is, the Princes of Chriſtendome to preſſe this agreement, to conſtraine the Pope to content himſelfe with that temporall ſtate which the skill of his auncestors have got, and left him. And for his ſpirituall, to be ſuch as the auncient Councels had limited. And for all other gainſtaiers to cenſure or puniſh them. Now for the Princes with ioynt aſſent to do this, how many have mightie motiues to enduce them. The ſervice of Chriſt, the honour of Chriſtian religion, the peace of Chriſtendom, the ſtrengthning of Chriſtians; the repulſing and overthrowe of all Turkes and infidells: and theſe in generall. In particular, the aſſuring of their owne lives and perſons, which ſo many, vnder pretence of religion dayly conſpire againſt; the quiet and ſecure enioying of their rich ſtates, and kingdomes; the tranſmuting of them to their proſperitie, without queſtion or oppoſition. And laſtly, the deliverie of their miſerable ſubiects (which ſhould be deare vnto them as children) from thoſe extream vexations of ſpirit and bodie, and thoſe ineſtimable calamities in their eſtates and conditions, wherewith theſe diſſentions in Religions and effects thereof doe now afflict them. And this is in generall, the ſumme of the diſcourſe of that kinde of people which doe ſhewe them (and they are, for the moſt part) Proteſtants though perhaps not running iumpe with their ſide in every thing: Alſo many of the other part, are caried with the ſame good zeale and affection, to the like deſire and intention. But theſe are of the moderate ſort of the Catholiques, and not of their Clergie. And ſuch lightly as have but an indifferent conceit of the Popes claime and proceedings, of which ſort, amongeſt the wiſe ſort of the laytie, are verie manie. But nowe in exacter conſideration of this motion, there appeares for the effecting of it, ſundry difficulties, ſo great, that they draw to be next neighbours, to ſo many impoſſibilities. whereof I will mention onely

two

two of the chiefe. For as for the thing it selfe, I must confesse for my owne part, the greatest desire I have in this world, is to see Christendome reconciled in the badge of their profession, and that without the ruine or subversion of either part, which cannot be done, but to the vnexpressable mischiefe and miserie on both sides, and with the vtter inhazarding both of Christendome and christianitie, and that any peace were better then those strifes, which did not preiudice that higher peace betweene God and mens consciences: then for the way they purpose, it seemeth for the generality of it, there is no other now left, seeing the opposition of extreames is no way defeaceable, but by extinguishing the one, or drawing both to some more temperate and milde estate. But in this cause, two things doe cleane shorten this hope: The first is, the vntractableneſſe of Papacy to it, who in so many conferences as they have made in this age, have alwaies ere they parted, plainely discovered, they came not with any such intent as to yeelde any thing for peace, much lesse for truthes sake, but onely to assay, either by manifolde persuasion and intreatie to reduce, or otherwise to intrap and disgrace their adversaries. And if some one of them have shewed himselfe more sleepie at any time, it hath beene his vtter discredite with his owne party for ever after; which sterne proceedings of theirs, admitting the fundamentall positions whereon the Papacy is built as good and necessary. For if divine authority doe concurre with them in all their ordinances, if Gods spirite assist them in all their decisions, and all possibility of erring be exempted from their Pope and Church, what remaines there but only that they teach, we beleeve, they command, and the world obey. Indeede in humane governments, where reason is shut out, there tyranny is thrust in; but where God commandeth to aske reason, is presumption to oppose reason, flat rebellion. To this miserable necessity have their assertions tied them, which they have laid for their foundation, miserable to

ſelves, and miſerable to the whole world. What can bee more miſerable to an ingenious good minde, then to have intangled himſelfe in ſuch a labirinth of perplexity and miſchiefe, as to have left no place for the acknowledging of his errors, without ruining his eſtate, (whenas error is onely purged by acknowledging, and doubled by denying it?) And to what a miſerable puſh have they driven the world, either in their pleadings againſt them with ſuch force of evidence, or in their ioyning with them, as to ſtop the mouth of the one, and to hang the faith of the other on this vnnatural paradox; *I and my Church cannot poſsibly erre!* And this you muſt take on our words to be true. For as for their conjecturall evidence out of the Scriptures, there ſeeme to be as much, or more for the King of *Spaines* not erring, as there is for the Popes, it being ſaid, that the heart of the King is in the hand of God, a divine ſentence is in his lippes, and his mouth ſhall not tranſgreſſe in iudgement. But now, as by theſe meanes they have debarred themſelves from acknowledging, and conſequently from being controled of error in matters of doctrine; ſo on the other ſide, to reforme any great matter in their practiſe, were to open the eyes & mouthes of all men againſt them, who now in the obedience of their blindeneſſe, ſticke faſt vnto them. Let them ſuſpend from hence forwards, the worſhipping of images, the fleeing to Angells and Saints by vowes and praiers for patronage, beſides the great loſſe it would bring vnto their traine in their offerings. What a jealoſie would it breed in the heads of their owne, but that they had led the world all this while on the blinde ſide, and that other things perhaps were controduced for gaine, and corruptly continued as well as theſe? Then for their adverſaries, their own maner of ſaying is; yeelde one thing vnto them, and yeelde all, ſith all hangs vpon the ſame Prince, and by the ſame ſtring that any one doth. So that it ſeemeth not to have beene vniverſally conceived by him, who ſaid; that to perſwade the Pope to any ſuch re-

formation

formation, was to perſwade him to yeelde vp his keyes and Crowne, and to returne to the order of his predeceſſours and other Patriarkes, which to doe, as yet he ſheweth no intention, than to hope, that though himſelfe and his Sea ſhould withſtand it, yet the learned of his ſide might be enduced in other places to ſome treaty of accord; they know them not, which would have that conceit of them.

For though it were perhaps not vntruely ſaid of a great man of their owne, that the Popes not erring was but an opinion of Pollicy, not of Theologie, to give ſtay to the laitie, and to ſteppe to the Divines, of whom (in ſuch infinite controverſies and jarrings (about interpretations of texts) and concluſions of ſcience, wherein many have ſpent a large part of their lives: Never any yet went to be reſolved by the Popes, as knowing it to bee true which their owne law delivereth, that in holineſſe many an old woman, and knowledge many a Friar might out-goe the Pope, but in power and authority the whole world was vnder him: yet at this day they doe ſo generally all cling vnto him, and draw by his line, as having no hope, eyther of ſtanding againſt their oppoſites, but onely by him, or of vnitie amongſt themſelves, but onely in him, that touch him, and touch them; yea, they thinke ſome of them, the name of Papiſt to be as good and a more neceſſary name at this day then of Catholiques, the one ſhewing onely their vnity with the bodie, the other with the head of the Church, which is now more needefull. It remaineth that Princes take the matter in hand, & conſtrain the Pope and other to yeeld to ſuch accord as they ſhould thinke reaſonable. Indeed this were an only right to effect it: for Reaſon is a good Orator, when it hath force to back it. But where are thoſe Princes? they dreame of an olde worlde, and of the heroicall times, who imagine that Princes will breake their ſleepes for ſuch porpoſes. If there were at this day, a *David* in *Spaine*, a *Ioſias*

in

in *France*, or *Ezechias* in *Italy*, a *Constantine* in *Germany*, the matter were ended in a very ſhort time. But take men as they are, and as they are like to bee, being brought vppe in the middeſt of their factions and flatterers, where they ſeldome heare truth. And if a good motion, by chance be ſette on foote by one part, it is ſure to be ſtrait croſſed, through the watchfull induſtrious envie of the other. The world may holde it ſelfe reaſonable happie and content, if the civill State be vpholde in any tollerable termes, and to thinke that they ſhoulde care greatly for reforming the Church, and much leſſe for the vniting of the State eccleſiaſticall, the diſſentions whereof, have, and daily ſerve ſo many mens turnes. And though it is to be acknowledged and thankefully commemorated, that this age hath not beene ſo vtterly barren of good Princes. But ſome have deſerved to have beene enroled amongſt thoſe Worthies; yet the ambition and inerochinge humours of certaine, and want of correſpondency requiſite in others, have ſtopped perhaps thoſe honourable thoughts and deſignes, which have elſe beene imployed for the vniverſall good of Chriſtendome. In ſumme, there is ſmall hope remaining in this part (the world having extinguiſhed the care of the publique good, by an over care of their private) and each proiecting to paſſe their owne time ſmoothely over, in pleaſure, and recommending poſterity to the ſtarres and deſtinie. Theſe reaſons, together with the long continuance of this diviſion, whereby both partes are formalized and ſetled in their oppoſitions: inſomuch, that in this day there are but very few, (in compariſon of former times) that are gained. Either way doe make mee diſpaire greatly of any ſucceſſe by that courſe, and ſo eſteeme of that plot, as an honeſt hartie deſire, but no probable deſigne, and as a cabinet diſcourſe of ſpeculative conſideration, which practiſe in the world, and experience doe neede to rectifie.

The

The next poynt is, whether neceſſitie (which ouer-rules all frowardneſſe and ſturdineſſe of humors and paſſions) may not preſſe them to ſome vnitie, if the Turke grow ſtill great vpon them, as hitherto he hath done, hee ſhall leave no hope for Chriſtendome to ſubſiſt: But in their inward concorde it is true, that a forreine enemie is a reconciler of brethren; and that common daunger holde them togither, as long as it laſteth, which elſe ſhoulde flie aſunder vppon everie light occaſion. But herein me thinketh, it commeth firſt to bee conſidered, whether the Turke be ſo fearfull a Monarch as is commonly conceived, eſpecially ſince his late ſo huge inlargement towards the Eaſt, that which moſt men eſteeme in him the grand cauſe of terrour, ſeemeth to mee a chiefe argument of the contrarie at this preſent, and that is the hugeneſſe of his Empire. For Empires are then at the ſtrongeſt, when they are at their biggeſt, there being a certain due proportion in all things, which they breaking, they that exceed, as wel as they that come ſhort, may be accounted huge and vaſte, but not great, ſince that is great properly which is great in the actions, which one as often impeacheth by vnwillingneſſe in the bigge, as by weaknes in the little. But if to this be adioined, as it ſometimes falls out, that there bee but a little ſoule to moove this vaſte bodie, which maketh ſome of the biggeſt men, to be neither wiſeſt nor valianteſt, and that the government, (which is the ſoule of the ſtate) is ſcant and feeble, not able to embrace nor order ſo huge affaires, then is there no greater preſage of ruine, then the verie maſſines it ſelfe, which every ſtrong puſh or iuſtle maketh reele and totter for want of that inward ſtrength, which were requiſite to hold it ſteddie. And this take I to be the ſtate of the Turkiſh Empire at this day, which being a meere tyrannie as ayming only at the mightineſſe and ſecuritie of their great Lord, the ſole abſolute commander, without any reſpect to the benefite of the people vnder him, ſave only ſo far-forth as may ſerve vpon

his greatnes: and for that cauſe in his iealouſie and diſtruſt of his owne, keepeth territories halfe deſolate, waſte, and vn-inhabited, his ſubiectes without heades of Nobilitie to leade them, without harts to encourage them to ſeek their libertie or deliverie, abuſing them by all kinde of beſtiall education, and oppreſſing them by all ſortes of extortion and outrage, giving the land where he conquereth to his Souldiors, and *Timarri*, which ſcattered over all parts of his ample Empire, are the onely contented people, & ſtrength (in effect) he hath, as being bound by their tenures to ſerve whither ſoever he calles them, and without his charge. This being his ſtate, it is cleare, that the wildnes and lying waſte of his Countrey, is to the great diminiſhing of his owne wealth and revenue, which is leſſe than ſome one of our chriſtian princes be at this day, thogh his Empire be larger then al the rs togither. The vnpopulouſneſſe, togither with the baſeneſſe and feebleneſſe of ſuch as are weake, that no one Countrey is a defence for himſelfe, but muſt have the concourſe of verie manie of the reſt to aſſiſt it: And laſtly, the huge circuite of his ſoyle and confines, embracing (as is eſteemed) eight thouſand miles of land, and of ſea, as manie, is the cauſe, that his *Timarri* cannot aſſemble togither, but in verie long time, wherein oportunities are often loſt, beſides the tyring both of themſelves, and their horſes, before they arme. And the truth hereof is aſſured by freſh experience, hee having done no great matter in all his warres of *Hungarie*, to ſpeake of. *Germanie* with ſome ſmall helpe of *Italie*, have oppoſed againſt him: But if we conſider the effeminateneſſe of the education of their great Earles in thoſe times: a thing which they are adviſed and conſtrained vnto, even contrarie oftentimes, to the manlineſſe of their owne natures, and all to keepe the father from iealouſie of his owne ſonne, whoſe braveneſſe of minde, and warlineſſe, is ſtill ſuſpected. And vſe having once ſoaked into their bones in youth, doth for ever after looſe the ſinewes of manly diſpoſitions, and aſſub-

iect

ject them to the ſoftneſſe and baſeneſſe of pleaſures: conſidering alſo the avarice and corruption which raignes there, all peace and warre, all friendſhips and enmities, all favours and wrongs, all counſailes and informations, being growne to be ſaleable. If theſe be as they are, the ſignes of the deceaſed, and prognoſticators of a dying Monarchie, much more of a tyrannie; then ſurely have we not nowe ſo great cauſe to dread him, as to blame our ſelves, and our wrangling and vilitie, who chooſe thus in practiſing to exterminate each other, to trace out a diſhonourable and fruitleſſe life. At the ende finding our ſelves at the ſame, or woorſe termes then when we beganne, rather then eſtabliſhing at firſt a firme accorde at home, to attempt with vnitie, zeale, love and forces, ſo juſt, ſo Chriſtian, ſo honourable, ſo rich a warre. And verily, if but Princes confining vpon him, (though agreeing among themſelves for the moſt parte in Religion) were not ſo ſtrongly infected with emulations, and home-ambitions, as to condiſcend to paie Tribute to the Turke in ſeverall, for ſo doe they as aredemption, each of them of their peace, whereof it hath no longer aſsurance then his pleaſure, which with double as much vnderhand bribes and preſents muſt be dayly ſweetned. And which is yet woorſe, when he liſt, commeth to invade any one of them (as he doth for his verie exerciſe, and avoyding tumults at home) the reſt doe holde off from giving ſuccours to their neighbours, for feare of drawing on revenge vpon themſelves ſome other time, which is the cauſe of the Polonians and Venetians at this preſent, who ſcarſely dare ſo much as pray againſt them in their devotions, otherwiſe then in their hearts, which I weene they doe duely. Were it not I ſay that their private ambitions, feares, and miſtakes, did drive them to make ſo abiect and vnchriſtian choiſe, as to inthrall themſelves into ſuch bonds of tribute, and ſlaverie, to ſo proude, and inſolent, and wicked enemie, rather then to ioyne in one courſe, for the

rooting of him & his tyrannie out of this part of the world, it were not much to be doubted, but the feare now of this ſide would ſoone turne to the other, ſeeing that one good blow to a bodie ſo built, and ſo full of diſtempers were able to put the whole in danger of ruining, and ſhivering. Theſe reaſons induce me not to thinke that the danger from the Turke ſhould be ſo great, as to enforce the Chriſtians to runne mainly to an accorde: and though it ſhould, yet without other ſounder working by perfect compoſing of all inward diſſention, this would bee but a civill accord, and onely for this time, which (the feare once paſt) would diſſolve of it ſelfe, and the former contentions revive as freſh as ever. For the bond of common feare, is the ſtrongeſt indeed of all other, but the ſhorteſt withall, which nothing during the daunger is able to breake, and the daunger once paſt, failes in ſunder of his owne vnfoundneſſe, howbeit if the Turke ſhould ſet foote in *Italie*, and abate the Popes ſtrength, by poſſeſſing his ſtate, then would I not doubt much, but that both himſelfe would be content, and all other Princes forwarde, that ſome ſuch vnitie, as is before ſpoken of, might be eſtabliſhed. But that is a caſe as vnlikely in ſhort time, as in tract of time not impoſſible to happen. So if ſome manly ſtowte Turke, ſhould ſucceede theſe womaniſh, there remaines then, the vnitie by perſwaſion onely, which both ſides ſeeme now to reſt on, each practiſing and hoping in tract of time to eate out the ſtrength of thother, by his induſtrie, in drawing away by perſwaſion his followers and adherents, wherein the Proteſtant accounteth his advauntage ſo much the greater, in that the vnitie of veritie is it which he perſwadeth; and truth being by ſo infinite degrees ſtronger than vntruth, having God to bleſſe it, heaven, and earth, and all the creatures of God to witneſſe it; and falſhoode it ſelfe (which is alwayes his owne cut-throte, by his croſſing and contrarietie) to yeeld confeſſion vnto it, vnleſſe the fault be exceedingly in the handler

and

and pleader, it muſt needes in the end, maugre the malice of all enemies, and craft of all inventions, prevaile and have the victorie, although the vtter aboliſhment of the Kingdome of Antichriſt they referre with the prophecie to the appearance of our Savior in iudgement and triumph, now ſhortly approaching. On the other ſide, the Papiſts hope that their perſwaſion beeing ſeconded by ſo great Princes authoritie inſinuated, and fathered, by ſo many collaterall aides, of motives, and practiſes, leaving nothing vnaſſayed which may preiudice, inflict, or annoy their oppoſites; and providing as they do, a perpetual ſucceſſion of inſtruments to be imployed in each kinde over all partes of Chriſtendome, they ſhall in the end trie, eate out, and vtterly conſume the ſtrength and ſtomacke of their vnpolitike and divided adverſaries. In the number whereof, though they ſcore vp all religions, eſpecialy chriſtian, that acknowledge not the Pope, and the three-folde plenitude of his ſupernall, terreſtriall, and infernall power, extending to heaven in canonizing Saints, to the lower partes of the worlde in freeing from purgatorie, over the earth in being the vniverſall guide and paſtor of all men, yet are they not affected to all their oppoſites in like ſorte (ſpeaking of ſuch as with whome they live and daily converſe.) For, to omitte the Iew whome they mocke with his Meſſias ſo long in comming, as alſo the Græcian whome they pittie with their Patriarch vnder the Turkiſh ſlaverie, their hatred vnto the Lutheran, the Author of their calamitie. But hatred and feare both of the Calveniſts only, whom they account the onely growing enemy and dangerous of their ſtate. For as for the Lutherane he was long ſince at his higheſt, and if he eetch an inch forwards one way, for an ell he looſeth another, it is onely by a king of boyſterous force and violence againſt the Calviniſts as in *Straſborough* of late. The reaſon whereof, beſides the abſurdities of the vbiquetarie (*himera* hath perhappes beene in part. For that their opinion tooke vppe his ſeate in *Germanie*, a ſtiffe people, but on heavie,

which will holde their owne well, but gaine little vppon other men, whereas the other falling livelier mettall, of the French especially, who are alwayes stirring and practising vpon their neighbours. And more vehement for the while in whatsoever they affect, hath had a very huge encrease in latter time. Notwithstanding those massacres which have beene vsed to extinguish them, as is still growing forwards in all places where once it taketh, and overtoppeth nowe, from whose toote at first it sprung. This therefore by all meanes they seeke to represse, giving some blinde hope to the Luthemne of quiet and toleration, so hee will ioyne against these a while for fretters out of both: But of all places, their desires and attempts to recover *England* have been alwayes, and still are the strongest, which although in their more sober moodes, so many of them will acknowledge to have beene the only nation that walke the right way of iustifieable reformation, in comparison of other, who have runne headlong rather to a tumultuous innovation (so they conceive it) whereas that alteration that hath been in *England*, was brought in with peaceable and orderly proceeding, by generall consent of the Prince and whole Realme representively assembled in solempne parliament, a great parte of their owne Cleargie according and conforming themselves vnto it; no *Luther*, no *Calvine*, the square of their faith, what publique discussing and long deliberation did perswade them to be faultie, that taken away: The succession of Bishopps, and vocation of Ministers continued, the dignitie and state of the Cleargie preserved, the honour and solempnitie of the worde of God not abused, the more auntient vsages not cancelled. In summe, no humor of affecting contrarietie, but a charitable indevour rather of conformitie, which the Church of *Rome* in whatsoever they thought, not gainesaying to the expresse law of God, which is the onely approovable way in all meere reformations: yet notwithstanding, in regarde of the power and renowne of the prince, and of their exemplarie pollicie in

go-

gouernement of the state, in regarde that they concurring entirely with neither side, yet reverenced of both, are the fitter and abler to worke vnitie betweene them; and to be an vmpire also, & directer, a swayer of all, whensoever there should be an occasion of assembling of their councelles, or conioyning their forces, for their common defence, and especially, for that it is the onelie Nation of the Protestant party, able to encounter and affront their king Catholikes proceedings for the rooting out of heresie, as their actions both by sea and land have manifested. Of all places in the worlde they desire most to recover it, making full account that the rest would then soone followe and apply to them of their owne accorde one after another. But to as high a tide as they are risen in their desires thereof, to as lowe an ebbe are they fallen in their hopes, being lesse nowe (for aught I perceive) than ever, having seene her Maiestie kept, and almost myraculously preserved, their treasons discovered, their excommunications vanished, their armies defeated, their cautalls and bookes aunswered, their chiefe champions discouraged, wasted, deceased; those that remayne, though many, yet few of abilitie, insomuch, that but imagine they may yet bring their founders were likely to withdraw from them ere long their stipends, which gette them but a vaine of fruitlesse liberalitie. And this is all I can say for any hope or meanes of this generall vnitie; and so must I leave and recommend it to God, as being both our best and nowe onely remayning pollicie, to addresse our vnited and generall supplications to his divine power and maiestie. That it may please him, by that ever-springing fountaine of his goodnes and gratious mercie, even beyond all humane hope (if it may stand so with his blessed will) and by such meanes as to his Divine wisedome are ever in readinesse, to effect those things which to mans witte may seeme impossible) to extend his compassionable and helping hand, over his miserable, defiled, and disgraced Church, persecuted abroad, and persecuting

it

it selfe at home, confined by Tyrants into a corner of the worlde, and therein raging and renting it selfe into fitters, to purge out of mennes mindes that ambition and vanitie, which so bewitches them with the love of pompe and glories of this perishing and ending world, which in the breathing of a breath they will loathe and despise as nothing, and to graffe in them a pure and single eie, to behold the eternall trueth (which seene) breedeth love, and loved, conductes to happinesse; To roote out all gall and acerbitie on both sides, and to bend their heartes to charitie, that being re-vnited in the pilgrimage of this life, this countrie of our terrestriall bodies, we may after our service & course therein accomplished, ascend vnder the conduct of our Saviour, before ascended to our everlasting rest, in the countrey of our celestiall Soules, there in societie and vnitie of Saints and Angelles to enioy the happy vision of the all-glorious deitie, and to sing his praise for ever.

I should heere make an end concerning the Church of *Rome*, but that a question incident to the matter, which last was spoken of, being mooved by many, and diversly aunswered, dooth sommon me to deliver vppe my coniecture also; and that is, vpon what ground of equitie or pollicie the Pope shoulde suffer both the Iewes and Græcians to have publike exercise of their religion in *Italie*, yea in *Rome* it selfe, vnder his Holinesse nose, and onelie the poore Protestant must be persecuted and chased, if it be possible, out of the worlde; no view of his religion to other, no exercise of it to himselfe permitted. For as for the Græcians they have a Church at *Venice*, with an Archbishop of *Philadelphia*, a Bishop of *Origo*, and sundry other Priests to governe it. And the Italians also doe often repaire vnto their Masse. They have their Masse also in Greeke with leavened bread, and other schismaticall ceremonies: at *Rome* it selfe and in *Naples* they say their priests retaine their wives still by permission from the Pope; in regarde that in these places they acknowledge the Popes preheminence and

power,

power, which at *Venice* they do not; but a meere primacie of order, which the auncient Councells thought good to give him. No more do Grecians in *Apuglia*, and *Calabria*, about *Oronto*, and at *Cassana*, nor in *Corsu*, and other Ilands adioyning to that coast, being the old remaines of the Occidentall Grecians, and who have alwayes, and do still follow the Greeke Church in all things, though these in *Calabria*, and *Apuglia* be subiect to the King of *Spaine*, and in his power to roote out whensoever himselfe listeth. And yet even in *Italie* it selfe doth he suffer them and their religion, who never could be induced to tollerate the Protestants, in any the remotest corner of his huge scattered Monarchie, and though the Grecians are condemned Heretiques, even in matter of the Trinitie, and perpetuall oppugners of the Papall right and authoritie. Then for the Iewes they even swarme in the most of the chiefe partes of *Italie*, at *Rome* specially where the least number I could ever heare them esteemed at, is ten thousand and vpward, though others say twise as many. They have their faire, or at least-wise fine Synagogues, both there and else-where; their Circumcision, their Liturgies, their Sermons in publique, and all that list may resort vnto them: yea, in meanes of enriching themselves, they are so much favoured, that in all places they are permitted to straine vp their vsurie to eighteene in the hundred vpon the Christian (for among thēselves they no where vse it) whereas also that summe in a Christian is not tollerated, which causeth many of the Christians to vse these Iewes vnder-hand, in improoving their vnlawfull rents to the vtmost proportion. They have also in some places, & it may be in all, a peculiar Magistrate, to decide any controversie betweene Christians and them, with particular direction to favor them in their trades. And lastly, where *France* hath banished that race, in *Avignon* only the Popes citie are they harbord & retaind. Some answer to this demaund in defence of the Pope, that the Church hath no authoritie to chastice the Iewes, who never were

within the Church, but are as enemies in even termes, whereas the Proteſtants are eyther vnnaturall or rebellious children, who have flung out of the church, on the iſſue of ſuch againſt whom her authoritie is endleſſe, and vnreſtrained, to take all courſes poſſible to reclaime them for ever. This anſwer ſeemes falſe, both as ſhort to the queſtion, ſeeing it extendeth not to the Grecians, who are in the very ſame roll of Heretikes, and Schiſmatikes, flingers out of the Church; and for that there is difference betweene exerciſing iuriſdiction in puniſhing an enemie, and not harbouring and cheriſhing him, and his vnlawfull and ſcandalous religion in our very boſoms, and is done in *Italie*, who have called the Iewes in thither, yea and ſtill do entice them whō *Fraunce*, *England*, and *Spaine*, have baniſhed from them long ſince. Other leaving theſe quirkes of iuſtice, holde by the texts of Charitie, That it is a Chriſtian act to harbor a harmleſſe enemie, and eſpecially that it is of all other moſt befitting the Church, who hath hereby alſo better meanes to reduce them to the faith: And ſo in fine to ſave their ſoules, which is the ſumme of their endevours. And in fortifying this anſwere, there is to be alledged for the firſt poynt, that the Iewes have their Service in Hebrew, and the Grecians in Greeke, which *Italie* vnderſtandes not, yea, and that they have purged the Hebrew Liturgie from all poynts wherein they did impugne or ſcandalize Chriſtianitie. And for the ſecond poynt, That the Iewes are bound to repaire at ſome times to the Chriſtian Sermons, by which meanes ſome few of them have beene converted and more may be when God ſhall pleaſe ſo. But neither ſeems this anſwer ſo perfect as were requiſite, for the Iewes doe make their Sermons or expoſitions of the Lawe in the Italian language, though the text of Scripture they cite in the originall. And although they have purged their Liturgies, as they ſay, yet leaving them Circumciſion, they tollerate that which is now intollerable. And as for their gayning of anie ſoules among them, if they gayned not

more Crownes, that reason would not stand: for if anie credite may be given to the Hebrewes themselves, as manie Friars become Iewes, as Iewes become Friars, of both sortes some, but few of either. But of the good provision they have taken to convert them, and of the fruites thereof I shall speake hereafter: In the meane time, this I aske: woulde they suffer the *English* Protestants to have an *English* Church there, none vnderstanding their language, neither in service, nor Sermons, yea and purging their Liturgie of whatsoever may seeme to impugne or deface their religion (if there be any thing in it of that offensive qualitie, as for my part I know nothing, but thinke rather, with great iudgement it was purposely so framed out of the grounds of Religion, wherein both sides doe agree, that their verie Catholikes might resort to it, without scruple, or scandal, if faction more then reason did not sway. Then for repairing to their Sermons they know by experience they will not be backeward, especially having the opinion of great men (as some say) that it is not vnlawfull. And lastly, what reason why they should not be as hopefull to gaine *English* mens soules as Iewes, yes, their hope is greater, else would they not bee at such cost vpon the one abroad, and bestow so little labour vpon the other at home. To this question they would aunswere; first, that there were more daunger of flocking away their people, if they should have but once a bare viewe of our Churches, as being more infectious, therefore no policie. And secondly, to what purpose the making of anie such motion, what need vnto vs, and vnto them what profite. This answer deduced from policy and profit I take to be the right answer. Also to the first principall question, and neither of the former drawne from Iustice or Charitie. For there is no cause of any feare at all, either of the oppressed Grecian, or of obstinate Iewe, bearing a marke of ignomie and reproach in all places, yea, they remaine the rather as examples, and spectacles among

them, of contempt and miſerie; the one for the vngratefull refuſall of Chriſt himſelfe; the other for his ſedition againſt the Vicar of Chriſt, as they inferre againſt him: whereas to give the Proteſtant any foot amongſt them, were the next way to leave themſelves no foote to ſtand on: On the other ſide, by extending pitie towardes the afflicted, and diſmaid Grecian, whom the verie hand of God hath laid as low as the verie duſt, they ſaw ſome hope of ranging himſelfe againe vnder their ſubiection, which were to them a reputation and ſtrength ineſtimable, and ſuch as they cunningly by falſe bruits, cauſe the wicked dayly to feede on. Then for the Iew, the profit by him is exceeding great, and greater in proportion of number then by the verie Curteſans, and that as well to the Pope, as to other Princes of *Italie*, to whom they pay a yearely rent for the verie heades they weare, beſides other meanes, to racke, and wracke them in their purſes at pleaſure: which gaine, as it is a peece of a cauſe why the beaſtly trade of the one; ſo it is the entire reaſon why the cruell trade of the other is permitted: they being vſed as the Friars, to ſucke from the meaneſt, and to be ſucked by the greateſt; inſomuch, that the Pope beſides their certaine tribute, doth ſometimes, as is ſaid, impoſe on them a ſubſidy for ten thouſand crownes extraordinarie for ſome ſervice of ſtate.

52 Now to conſider a little, what probabilitie of their converſion there is in theſe parts. And by the way to touch ſomewhat of their religion, and vſage. Thus ſtandeth their caſe; they have a religion, though ſomething ſtrange to our conceits, as being framed, not only out of the law of the old Bible, but alſo out of ſundry capricious fancies and fables of their Rabins, yet ſo hanſomly proceeded & glued togither, that one part ſeemes not to hang to th'other abſurdly. And that which they hold, they are ſo perfit in, that they wil give both a probable account of it out of a certaine Moral Philoſophie, and reaſon, (wherin they are wel ſeen) as alſo make ſome ſhew for it out of the Bible it ſelf, wherin they are the

skilful-

skilfullest men (I beleeve) in the worlde. And needs must they be so, setting their children to the Hebrew language at three yeeres olde, and following no other studie save of the Bible, and writings vpon it all their life long, except some few that betake themselves to physicke. Touching God and his nature: Their opinions are for the most part very honorable and holy, save that they deny the Trinity. Touching Angells, but weake, and soyled with much Poetrie, Touching the nature and condition of man, very exquisite, and for the most part, drawing neere vnto trueth. But for the three states of the soule of man, they runne some more strange courses, holding the creation of them altogether with sundry of the antient, & others, the μετεμψυχωσις of *Pythagoras* (though not to different *species*) and *Platons* Purgatorie of Vertue and Vice, and mans course; in both they thinke not much amisse, so that to the expiation of sinne, they holde nothing necessarie but the repentance of the sinners, and the mercie of the Forgiver, which in that case is alwayes ready; For rewarde, it commeth wholie from the bounty of God, without desert, yet different in degree, according to the woorkes of each man. That the generall lawe of all men is the lawe of nature onelie, which whoso keepes, it shall leade him to blisse, in what religion soever.

Though the Hebrewes, vnto whome the lawe of *Moses* was peculiarly given, by observing it shall have a prerogative of glory. They preferre the civill life before the solitarie, and marriage before virginitie, as being to Nature more agreeable, to mankinde more profitable, and consequently to GOD more acceptable. Their life, of the end of the worlde, of the finall iudgement, of the restoring of mens bodies, and of their happinesse everlasting in the height of the heavens, is good in the generall: But as they thinke it a bad opinion which some men seeme to holde, That God in his everlasting and absolute pleasure should affect the extreame miserie of any of his crea-

tures, for the ſhewing of his iuſtice and ſeverity in tormenting him; Or that the calamitie, caſting away, and damnation of ſome, ſhould abſolutely and neceſſarily redound more to his glorie than to the felicitie of them all, conſidering that his nature is meere goodneſſe and happineſſe, and hath no affinitie with rigour or miſerie: ſo contrariwiſe they thinke with *Origen*, That hell, in the end, ſhall be vtterly aboliſhed: And that the Divelles themſelves after a long courſe of bitter repentaunce and puniſhment, ſhall finde mercie at his handes that did create them, That the Worlde may bee entirely reſtored vnto that puritie wherein almighty God at the firſt didde make it. And to that perfection and happineſſe whereto each parte of it in his ſeverall degrees was deſtined by him, from whom nothing but goodneſſe and bliſsefulneſſe could proceede: The leiturging in the kinde of it, is not much different from ours, conſiſting the Pſalmes, and Prayers with ſundrie ſhorte Hymnes and Reſponds of Leſſons: One out of the Lawe, and read by ſome chiefe perſon, an other out of the Prophets, correſpondent vnto the former in Argument, but is read by ſome boy or meane companion; For they will in no ſorte doe that honour, neyther attribute they that authoritie to any part other of the Bible that they doe to their Lawe, which they doe vſually carrie about their Synagogue at the ende of their Service in proceſſion, with many ornaments of Crownes and Scepters, the children kiſſing it, as it dooth paſſe by them. And ſometimes doe they make proclamation, who will give moſt to their treaſure, to have the honour of that time of taking out the Lawe. But for the manner of performing their ſervice and their behavior thereat, it is different from all other that ever I ſawe; They chaunt it in a ſtrange wilde halowing tune, with immitating ſometimes trumpets, and one ecchoing to the other, & winding vp by degrees from a ſoft or ſilent whiſpering to the higheſt and lowdeſt notes that their voyces will beare, with continuall great wagging

of

of their bodies, and exultation as it were in ſome ſavage and raging ſolempnitie, ſometimes all ſpringing vp lightly from the ground, and with as much varietie as olde worke will receive. They weare certaine Ornaments of imbrodered linnen, caſt mantle-wiſe about their ſhoulders, which are their Philacteries edged with knotted fringe, according to the number of the Commandements, and ſerving as locall memories of the Lawe. The reverence they ſhew is in ſtanding vppe at times, and the geſture of advocation is in bowing forwards of their bodies; for kneeling they vſe none, no more than doe the Græcians: Neither ſtirre they their bonets in the Synagogue to any man, but remayne ſtill covered: They come to it with waſhed handes, and in it they burne lamps to the honour of God, but for any ſhew of devotion, or elevation of ſpirite, that yet in Iewes could I never diſcerne, but they are as reverend in their Synagogues, as Grammer boyes are at ſchoole when their maſter is abſent; in ſumme, their holineſse is the very outward worke it ſelfe, beeing a braineleſſe head and ſouleleſſe bodie. For circumciſion they vſe it to the dead aſwell as to the living, yet no waie thincke it neceſſarie for the infants ſalvation: They are a ſubtill and advantagious people, and woonderfull eagre of gaine, inſomuch, that whoſo deales with them, needes let his witte goe with his beliefe, or elſe his findings ſhall come ſhort to his exſpecting, as earneſt to make Proſelites as ever were their anceſtors, and as obſtinate againſt Chriſt as the Prieſts that condemned him. In other poynts they are rather to be commended than otherwiſe. Their care of avoyding fornication is ſuch, that they do marrie their ſonnes at eighteene yeares lightly: but adulterie they could puniſh with death, if they had liberties; when they break the Lawe, they come to their *Rabbi* for puniſhment, yet without any particular diſcloſing of their fault: they keep their faſts and feaſtes very duely: But as the Chriſtians faſt the night, ſo they the noone alwayes: They are charitable among

among themselves, leaving no poore vnrelieved, no prisoner vnransomed, which maketh them good price vpon everie occasion. And although for their vsurie and guilefull dealing they are generally hated there, and handled like verie dogges, yet some of them I have knowne men of singular vertue and integritie of minde, seeming to want no grace but the faith of a Christian: Each Synagogue hath his *Rabbi* to expound their Lawe, to instruct their children, to decide their differences. For their Messias, they say nowe, seeing hee stayeth so long, hee shall be a fore-runner of the end of the worlde, and shall gather by his power, all nations into one folde, and so resigne them vp into the handes of that eternall Pastor. But it doth seeme they exspect him out of the East, whither the Spanish Iewes fled, and have exceedingly multiplied, for those doe they holde to be of the Tribe of *Iuda*, and the other in *Germanie* and in *Italie* to be of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, who in honor of the more noble Tribe, and to conspound with them the better, doe learne the Spanish tongue which those still retaine.

53 But now to come to the poynt which I principally intended, which is, what probabilitie there is of their conversion in *Italie*: Three great impediments, besides their naturall and inrooted obstinacie I suppose there are which hinder it, the scandalls of the Christians, the way or means to instruct them, & the punishment or losse which by their contraversion they incurre. A scandall it is to see mans law preferred before Gods, to see great matter made of eating flesh vppon a friday: and that adultery should passe for so ordinarie a pastime; a scandall are all these blasphemies darked vp with hell: shee mouthes against God and our Saviour, so ordinarily and openly, that some of them are become very Interiections of speech to the vulgar, and othersome meere phrases of gallantrie to the Princes: a scandall is that forging and packing in myracles, wherein the Friars and Iewes concurre in equall diligence, the one

in contriving, the other in discovering them: and surely this is an exceeding great scandall of them, seeing truth is of so pure and victorious a nature, that it refuseth to bee in league with any falshood in the world, much more disdaineth to be assisted by it: neither can there bee a greater wrong done to a true conclusion, then to indevour to prove it by an vntrue allegation: a scandall are the alterations which they are forced by the inquisitors to make in their Authors and monuments of antiquitie, thinking that these devises are our best evidences. But of all these alterations, they keepe a note for a freer time: A scandall is the vowing and praying to Angells and Saints, which they hold to be the duties peculiar to God onely, and so hath it beene esteemed among them in all ages: yea, and they note that the Christians pray more often and more willingly vnto Christs Mother, then vnto Christ himselfe, or to God. But the greatest scandall of all others, is their worshipping of Images, for which both Iewes and Turke call them Idolatrous Christians. Now this is so much the more, and of greater dignitie, for that they generally conceive it to be a thing which Christ himselfe expressly commanded, and that in the Gospel of Christ, written by the Evangelists themselves, the *Decolaques* should be recited with omission of the second precept, as one of their greatest Rabbines contested with me, being induced into that error by some catechisme of the Christians, which he had seene with that sold. Now when they come to conference with the Priests and Friars, (as sometimes they do) and vpbraid this as a peremptory exception against Christ, those good men deny it not for feare of scandalizing their own, but letting it passe for currant; that Christ, whome the Iewes call a Carpenters sonne, was an Image-maker: or howsoever, an Author of the worshipping of them, seeking to salve vp the glosse which they have made in the plaine words of that law which was written by the fingers of God, with their speculative plaisters of distinguishing

betwene the Image of the true God, and the idolls of the falſe gods, of Νοια & λατρεια of intention inſtrumental, & finall in worſhip; all which are the vnſavoreſt dregs to the Iew in the world, who ſaith; there was never yet Nation in the world vnder the Sunne, ſo blockiſh as to worſhip a ſtocke and ſtone, and a finall obiect, but onely as a repreſenter of ſome abſent divinity, and that the heathen themſelves call them the *Effigies* and *ſymulacra* of other; yet ſuch *Effigies*, as that the divine power by his vertue, did ſometimes inhabite and worke miracles by, even as our Lady doth in her images in infinite places of Chriſtendome; whereby, if the poore ideot were deceived among the Pagans, to thinke ſometimes that very image ſome diviner perſon, as cleare it is, that the like befalls infinite ſimple Chriſtians, ſeeing their images either to grow, or to weepe and bleede, as they doe often and ſo infinite cares wrought by viewing and touching them: And ſo for their degrees of worſhippe betweene Gods image and the Saintes, they cannot perceive them, they kneele to them alike, they pray to them alike, they vow to them alike, they inſence them alike, they burne candles to them alike, they clothe them alike, they offer gifts to them alike: the difference (if it be any) is in their mentiall affections, which whether the blunt and vndiſtinguiſhing wits of the vulgar doe obſerve, they ſuppoſe a ſmal meaſure of diſcretion may conjecture. In like ſort, for their diſtinction betweene the image of the true God, and of the falſe gods: they tel them, that the other cauſes that might have his place; but now in the law, it being expounded in other places, that as prohibiting this baſe & ſenſuall ſeducing kinde of worſhipping God himſelfe by an image (if any image of God were poſſible to be made) that thus the law it ſelfe doth plainely deliver: thus they which received the law vnderſtood it, thus al their holy anceſtors & learned doctors have ſtill interpreted it, and thus have their nation in all ages beleeved: and therefore they ſay, for their comming to the Chriſtians ſermons; that as long as they ſhall ſee the Preacher direct his ſpeech and

prayer to that little woodden crucifixe that ſtands on the pulpit by him, to call it his Lord and Saviour, to kneele to it, to imbrace it, to kiſſe it, to weepe vpon it, (as is the faſhion of *Italy*) this is preaching ſufficient for them, perſwades them more with the very ſight of it, to hate Chriſtian religion, then any reaſon that the worlde can alleadge to love it. And thoſe be the ſcandalls which I heard themſelves alleadge they take on that ſide, beſides their tranſubſtantiation, which they can at no hand digeſt. The particular ſcandalls frō the Proteſtants, is theſe mutual diſcentions which they hold to proceed from the want of the vnity of truth in their foundations, otherwiſe ſave for their generall exceptions againſt Chriſtianity, they hold the religion very confirmable to the law of Nature, which they account the principall. But were all the vnneedefull ſcandalls in thoſe parts removed, yet is there no good meanes there of the Iewes converſion vſed. They complaine firſt, that the new Teſtament, being the ground of our religion, they cannot ſee it. That Italian tranſlation which they had is called in, and taken from them, it is printed in Hebrew letters, but not in Hebrew language, at leaſtwiſe, not in ſuch as they can vnderſtand. With Greeke and Latine their nations never medled: beſides which, the Inquiſitors have inhibited and taken from them, all bookes that were ever publiſhed in that theame on either ſide, as well thoſe that have bin written in defence of chriſtian religion, as alſo the contrary againſt it, alleadging they will have no diſputing in matter of religion either way, much like to an Edict ſet vp at *Dola*, in the francke County, where the Ieſuites reſide, forbidding any talke of God, either in good ſort, or in bad. Then laſtly, for thoſe few ſermons they are bound to repaire to, ſeldome are they directed to the pointes they ſticke on, but holde on their vſuall tenour, as reſpecting meerely the Chriſtians. The laſt incouragement to men, eſpecially of their mettall, is, that at their converſion to Chriſtianity, they muſt quitte their goods to the

Chriſtians. And the reaſon is, for that in baptiſme they renounce the divell and all his wórkes, part whereof, are the Iewes goods, being gotten, either of themſelves, or of their anceſtors by vſury. Now this is ſuch a cold comfort to a man ſet on the world, (as that Nation is wonderfully) that for my part I have not heard of any converted in thoſe parts, ſave ſome Phiſitians, with ſome of their children, who by friendſhip to the Pope, have obtained diſpenſation to retaine their goods ſtill, in as much as they were gotten by their honourable poſſeſſion. But if on the contrary ſide, the Chriſtians would againe in their charity, give ſomewhat for the competent entertainement of ſuch as for Gods ſake did give vp their owne, I could not but well commend that rigour of iuſtice, which the bountifulneſſe of his mercy did mittigate and aſweten. But being no ſuch matter, there remaines nothing for a Iew converted, but to be friared; a trade which of all other they leaſt can fancy, as being contrary (as they alleadge) to Nature it ſelfe, which hath made man ſociable, and each helpefull to other in all civill duties, a trade never commanded or commended by God, never practiſed nor counſelled by their renowned anceſtours, who received continuall inſtruction and inſpiration from above, which none of their Patriarkes or Prophets hath given example of, onely in three or foure thouſand yeares, *Elias* and ſome one other, hath beene found, vppon very extraordinarie cauſe, to have taken alſo an extraordinary courſe of life, though of other nature, and to other purpoſe then the votaries of our times. And theſe are the termes that the Iewes ſtand on in thoſe parts: and ſo muſt I terme them to the mercifull care of God, an vnbleſſed and forſaken people, obſtinate within, and vnſcandalized without, indefatigable in their expectations, vntractable in perſwaſion, worldly, yet wretched, received of their enemies, but deſpiſed and hated, ſcattered over all countries, but no where planted, daily multiplying in number, but to the increaſe of their ſervitude, and not to their power. In ſumme, a long con-

tinued and wicked example of Gods iustice, severitie to abate their pride, that glory even as they in their ancestours and founders, Gods Temple, ornacles, promises, and many prerogatives, long continuance in honourable estate and glory, (which things, if they were sufficient to preserve any seate in the world, even their seate had beene preserved by them) and to proclaime to the whole world, that there is no assurance of the favours, protection & assistance of God, (without which all falls to ruine) but in beleeving in his Sonne, and keeping his comminaundements. And this also may serve touching the Church of *Rome* sufficient.

Next followeth the Creeke Church in thrall, &c. (all in a manner, save the Muscovites and Candians, with seme few other of no great name or number, vnder the Turkish tyranny: of which Church, as their farre distance from vs requireth not to speake much; for their vniformity in misery, yeeldeth not much to be spoken for their religion, except onely their antient error, touching the proceeding of the Holy Spirite from the Father above, wherein they have long discented from all Latine or West Churches. In other points they seeme to stand in some middle termes of opinion, betweene the Romish and the Protestants, in the more weighty, or at the leastwise in the dominative. With *Rome* they concurre in the opinion of transubstantiation, and generally in the sacrifice, and whole body of the Masse, in praying to Saints, in auricular confession, in offering of sacrifice, and prayer for the dead, and in these, without any, or with no materiall difference. They hold Purgatory also and the worshipping of pictures: but for images, they will not so much as endure them in their Churches. As well for that proclivity they have to traine away the ignorant into crime of Pagan errors, as also to avoide that similitude betweene their Churches and heathenish temples of Idolls, which imagery doth cause. And for their pictures, they kneele to two onely, of Christ, and our Lady: the rest they passe over with an ordinary reve-

rence. For Purgatory they hold none, in hell, or in the skirts thereof, or by any outward torment, but that the ſoules of the faithfull are no receiued into glory, till by an extreame compunction and anguiſh of minde, they haue worne out thoſe ſtaines with which the ſame, and the pleaſures thereof in this life, defile them. In ſumme, thoſe opinions which grew into the Church before that ſeperation betweene the Greekes and the Latines, and all thoſe ceremonies which were common vnto both, they ſtill retaine, as their croſſings, and tapers, with certaine other. But for theſe ſuperſtitions which haue crept in in freſh memory, or which were as antient, yet not ſo currant; and in generall, all thoſe canons of the Romiſh faith, which haue bin thruſt on the Church in thoſe times, by the vnaccountable power and pride of the Papacy, tending to the advancement of their owne Sea, and to the exempting of their Church and doctrine from triall, by thoſe Anabaptiſticall fancies of the ſpirite, that mans them and protecteth them from error in their conſultations or reſolution, touching matter of faith, extenuating the ſufficiency and authority of the Scriptures in compariſon of their ſpirite, or Church guided by it; all theſe things they abhorre no leſſe then the Proteſtant: they hold vnderſtanding requiſite to concurre with affection, for the accompliſhment of devotion in praying to God. And although their liturgies be the ſame that in the olde time, namely; Saint *Baſills*, Saint *Chryſoſtoms*, and Saint *Gregories* tranſlated, without any bending of them to that change of language which their tongue haue ſuffered, yet doe they ſay, that alteration is not ſo great, but that their people with ſmall accuſtoming, vnderſtand the language well enough. But by praying with Saint *Dominickes* round counters, they eſteeme of it no better then thoſe heatheniſh repetitions, and vnnaturall lip-labour which our Saviour cenſureth: neither can they beleeve that the Apoſtle *Iames*, the leſſer, who is painted vnder the Papacy with his great beades at his girdle, even as *Mary Magdalen* lightly praying before a crucifixe, was

Saint *Dominickes* deceit, but a wiser mans farre, and one that introduced a better fashion of praying, if the world could have bin contented to have followed his prescripts. In like sort, for the holy water so much vsed vnder the Papacy: they beleeve no such feare, that the divel should have of it, no such force in it as to purge sinne as their neighbors do teach: they repute it a very vaine opinion, that the church cannot erre, both in the whole, & in every part therof: and consequently, that their neighbours of *Rome* had bestowed that paines better which they have spent in proving and perswading, that they cannot erre, in providing and carrying more. Not to have erred, they acknowledge that there is sufficient doctrine in Scripture for salvation, though to the antient vsages of the Church & writings of the fathers, they yeeld due reverence. Three things in the Pope they condemne, especially his pride, in arrogating of so exorbitant a iurisdiction over all churches, contrary to the decrees of antient Counsels, and vpon no shadow of right or good foundation, that chiefly vsurping that temporall tyranny over Princes & the States, in deposing of the one, and disposing of the other at his absolute pleasure; his cruelty in persecuting other christians with such extreamity (for their different opinions) his presumption in mounting to the seate of God, by dispencing with the laws of God, & granting pardon for sinne, and liberty out of Purgatory, which they account to bee of those royall prerogatives incident to God onely. For as for the doctrinall foundations of these indulgences, the overplus of merites and satisfactions, in some being more then they needed, or then were to bee required of any ioyes of heaven, in their particular persons, and consequently remaine as a perpetuall treasure to the Church, to bee conferred by the Pope, or his weaker and lesse discerning, or rather lesse satisfying children; for so is their opinion, so farre are they from praising merites at such an estimable valew, that contrariwise they concurre in affection with the Protestants, that it is impossible for any creature to merite, as by

way of right, the leaſt dramme of reward at his Creators hands, the ſervice of ten thouſand millions of worlds, being not able to adde any ſhadow of perfection to him, who is perfection it ſelfe, having whatſoever is good or deſireable within himſelfe even from all eternity, in infinite of degree, & with impoſſibility of any the leaſt addition. But whatſoever reward is beſtowed vpon the creature, floweth for them, from the meere bounty and gratiouſneſſe of the Creator, who as in goodneſſe alone and meere grace did make him; ſo alſo in meere grace doth advance him to that high happineſſe: That ſervice intermediall which he requireth, is a gratious diſpoſition of ſweeteſt harmony, from the inexplicable wiſedome of a Lord and Father, ſtill abounding and inlarging his hands in all bounty & goodneſſe towards his ſonnes and ſervants, and deſtined to no others then to the creatures meere benefite and advancement onely; that by his requiſite indevours in thoſe honorable waies of wiſedome and vertue, of love and thankfulneſſe, and of imitating of his nature in doing good in the world, he may grow to a higher degree of glory, which is propoſed and reſerved by that great rewarder in the height of the heavens, and as a full and finall accompliſhment of his whole deſires, as the Crowne of his celeſtiall bleſſednesſe. Now, as in this opinion they agree in generall with Proteſtants doctrine, ſo doe they mightily diſ-aſſent from that doctrine. Touching the eternall counſells of God, which *Calvine*, as ſome conceive, firſt revealed, or rather introduced into the world. And ſince, ſome of his friends and fellowes have ſeconded, as thinking it very injurious to the goodneſſe of God, and directly and immediately oppoſite to his nature, in regarde whereof, one of their Biſhops hath written a booke againſt it, which hath beene ſent to *Geneva*, and there received. Thus much of their doctrine, which though it may better and fuller be taken out of their Bookes, yet have I thought not inconvenient to deliver this in briefe, how I have found them alſo in ſpeech and conference affected.

55 Their Liturgies, for the moſt parte, are thoſe three I have named, all which they vſe for varieties ſake in the ſeverall feaſts and times allotted for them. For the forme and ceremonies, they much reſemble the Latines, though of the two the French Maſſe more than the Italian, not onely in their holy bread, but eſpecially in their Altar, which with great miſerie (as is ſaid) they both incloſe from the people, that the *Arcana* of thoſe their ineffable croſſing and converting, may not bee proſtituted and polluted by vnſanctified view, whereas the Romanes lie open on all ſides to all eyes. In their hoaſt they vſe leaven, which the Latines avoyde. They elevate it forward, which the the Latines doe backeward, and neare the bodie of the Church, which the other doe at the Altar. In their croſſings they are verie plentifull, but herein ſwarving from the Latines. The Greeke, who is more nimble therein, beginneth his croſſe on the right ſide, and the Latines on the left, each with his ſeverall myſterie. They have alſo a ſhifting in one, and the ſame Maſſe, from one Altar to another, which the Latins have not, who contrariwiſe have in a Church a dozen Maſſes, ſometimes all going at once at ſeverall Altars, which the Grecians vſe not for aught I could ſee; they have much ado with their lights, in putting them out, and in againe, at ſeverall times and parts of their ſervice, & their Liturgy in much intermedled with ſinging, performed in a tune, neither artificial nor altogither neglected, but grave, allectuated and branched with diverſe parts. At the Creede the Prieſts come forth to the doore of the chancels, and hold vp a litle imbrodered picture of Chriſt, towards which they do reverence and pronounce their beliefe. Their ieſture or reverence are the very ſame with the Iewes, ſtanding vp and bowing forwardes their bodies at times; for kneeling they vſe none, ſave only (as they ſay) one day in the yeare. At there comming, they bow themſelves thriſe toward the Altar, and three times croſſe themſelves at their departure, having taken their holy bread with kiſſing

their Prelats hands, from whom they receive it; they finally ſalute the pictures of Chriſt, & our lady, kiſſing their hands which are plated over with mettall for wearing. But the Grecians pictures of Chriſt, and of our Lady, are nothing like the Latines, but as different as any two ordinarie faces that a mã ſhall ſee. The moſt vniformitie therin that I have ſeene, is with vs in *England*. For in *Italie* there is little, eſpecially of our Ladie, whoſe very pictures which they ſay S. *Luke* himſelfe partly did draw, & partly begun, and an Angell did finiſh, may argue more devotion towards her in the drawer, then acquaintance, vnleſſe her face were very variable, or their skill very ſlender. Some where, as at *Loretto*, ſhe is painted like a Blackmore: In ſumme, they have ſo little knowledge of her countenance and favour, that in ſome places they will aſſemble diverſe of their faireſt Curteſans to draw the moſt modeſt beautie of a virgin out of the flagrancie of harlots. But to returne to the Grecians, and to come nowe to their government, which is auncient, by Patriarkes, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, with other ordrs inferiour, vnto whom the people carry exceeding reſpect, as is were to the publike fathers, and heads of their nation; notwithſtanding that calamitie wherein the tyranny of the Turke hath plunged them. They have alſo a religious order amongſt them, of S. *Baſil*, the great founder of the Eaſt Monkes; as S. *Benedict* of the Weſt. Theſe may have their vowes of chaſtitie and auſteritie, and may not marry, which to the reſt of their Cleargie is not prohibited; they have alſo their proper habite, but ſhaven they are not, for aught I could diſcerne; no more are their Prieſts, being a ceremony ſo bald, that ſome Prieſts in *Fraunce* are aſhamed of the marke, and few of them have it that can hanſomly avoyde it. But as in the multitude of their religious orders, they differ much from the Weſt Church, the Grecians having only this order of S. *Baſil*, and the Latines having multiplied therein to greater ſtore and varietie, then are profeſſions in a common wealth, or trades in a citie: ſo alſo in their vſe and

courſe

course of life. For the Roman monks by withdrawing themselves from the societie of other men, and living and dying within their Cels, do bereave the world of that benefit, and of that dutie and service wherein each man is bound to the behoofe of other, alledging in place thereof the blessings which by their assiduitie and fervor in praier not interrupted nor cooled by secular cõmerements, nor drawne down vpon the world, doe grow vnto the Church, whereas the Grecians continue that more approved institution of them by spirituall meditations, and exercises, and by severitie to make themselves fitter to serve in the Church of God, in ecclesiasticall calling with exemplarie holines. And accordingly their Prelats and other principall priests are chosen in many places out of one of their order, & in greatest part these guides of their Church, have a wonderfull care, and are continually pricked with the motion of much feare and griefe of heart, lest their persecuted flock, gasping in helplesse and comfortlesse extremitie of all miserie, having famine of soule, and great blindnes within for lacke of a Pastor, & meanes to maintaine them; without seeing nothing but triumphs over Christ, and scornes of his religion, insolencies, and violences against their persons, oppressions and extortions vpon their goods, rapines, and murderings vpon the verie soules of their children; a case to be bewailed with teares of bloud by all Christian hearts that know it, hearing the onely anchor and stay of their soules (which is the expectation of the comming of Christ, and of future salvation) dayly derided and blasphemed by the pride of the mightie. And finally, seeing no shadow of any hope of deliverie from this calamitie, vnder the burden whereof they grone, should in the end fall away, and revolt to Turkisme, inviting them hereunto with so many baites of pleasures, of freedome, and of worldly glorie. In which fearefulnesse of mind, the onely remedie remaining is, the vertuousnes of their owne example, in constancie and patience, and avoyding of all scandall to their people, which is the cause that

they will not heare of any reformation of any thing, nor I ſuppoſe for any preſumption or obſtinacie of mind, as diſdaining reformation, but all trembling or alteration which muſt needs accompanie it, leſt their people perceiving ſo they bad bin amiſſe in ſomthing, might ſuſpect the poſſibilitie of like error in the whole, and fall mainly whither the force of power, and worldly proſperitie, (a chiefe argument to the vulgar mind) ſhould ſway them; as on the other ſide, their doubt of further exaſperating the Turke in his crueltie againſt them: conſidering that no Greece and in all thoſe partes of Europe, the Chriſtians vnder the Turke, doe verie manifoldly exceede in number the Mahometitians themſelves may be a cauſe, why in their generall they holde ſo ſmall intelligence, and correſpondence with the Weſt Church of one ſide or other, and are like to continue ſo, whileſt their thraldome and cauſe of that feare ſhall laſt, though in their particular, they will declare a brotherly affection of both, and deſire of the vnitie of all in one truth. But for the Turke himſelfe, he maketh full account, that whenſoever the Weſt Chriſtians ſhould ſhortly invade him. Theſe Chriſtians vnder him would runne to their ayde, if they ſaw any likelihoode that they ſhould prevaile. And this hath beene ſeene alreadie more then once by example, and he provides accordingly.

The Moſcovites are a great church, a free and puiſſant, not Schiſmatikes from the other Græcians, as ſome in diſgrace of both deliver, though perhaps not concurring fully in al points. Neither is it true which other of a contrary cõceit have rumored, that the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* had removed his Seate to *Moſco*, whither he went, only to erect that Sea into an archbiſhopricke, which before it was not, & returned. But the Turk to keep his *Moſcovits* from ſtirring againſt him, cauſeth the *Tartarians* to make oftẽ incurſions & roads into their country, that ſo being held alwaies in awe on another ſide, they may have leſſe ſtomake on the other

other to imbrace any thoghts or deſſigns of interpriſing or combining with other chriſtians againſt him; it were needleſſe now to enter into any vain of their lives, neither could it ſerve either way to their honor, or reproch of their religion & government, being maymed, interrupted, or ſtopt in his operations, of what quality ſoever through his tyranny, who ſtrives to plant barbarbarouſnes among thē, as knowing, that neither civilitie founded his empire, nor with civilitie could it long continue. But the caſe is general, & experience ſhews it in all places, that th'affl ćted in all religions, how contrary ſoever, are for the moſt part, men of conſcience & honeſty, ſave only where hopes draw their honors to them. For it cannot come from leſſe than a vertuous affection, to prefer the ſincerity of conſcience before worldly glory, howſoever it may be ſaide with eroneous opinions: as on the contrary ſide even the pooreſt religion in proſperitie draws to it an infinit of time-ſervers, who being traind vp in the exactions of cup-diſcipline make their *Cēdavous* where the beſt cheere is ſtirring, and follow Chriſt vpon a ſharpe devotion, but to his bread, not to his doctrine. In which regards the fruits of life in divers religiōs & governmēts are not to be compared, but where their proſperitie & adverſitie are equall; ſo falls it out in this particular we now ſpeak of, where the grecian who is counted, by the corruption of the country, to be naturally a crafty merchant, a ſeditious perſon in all kindes of governement, is nowe become humble, obedient, & peaceable; and at divine ſervice gives ſhew of more devotion than the Roman in any place for aught I have yet ſeene: but the lamentable calamitie of this afflicted and diſtreſſed Church once flouriſhing in all worldly glorie. Now ſuch as it hath pleaſed the wild boare to leave it, able to diſſolve a marble heart into ſtreames of teares, cauſeth me, in true ſence of compaſſion of their miſerie, to preſſe with the humble petition of a mind pierſed with grief, to the iuſt Iudge of the world, redeemer of mankind, and ſavior of his people, to caſt downe his pitiful eies

vpon them; to behold on one ſide his triumphing fierce enimies perſecuting without meaſure, on th'other, his poore ſervants troden downe and perſecuted without help, hope, or comfort; to diſſolve the pride and power of the one, to comfort the aſtoniſhed and waſting weakneſs of the other, with ſome hope of ſuccor and finall delivery; to inſpire the harts of chriſtian princes, (their neighbors) compounding or laying aſide their endles and fruitles contentions, to revenge their quarrell againſt their vniuſt oppreſſor; to deliver now at length the church of that bane, the world of that ignomy, mankind of that monſter of Turkiſh tyranny, that hath too long raigned and laied the earth deſolate: A ſmall thing were it, if this revenue & treaſure were only ſupplied & maintained out of their goods and labours. And if their bodies and lives were onely waſted and worne out in his works and ſlaveries, it might be ſuffred; for goods are tranſitory, & death th'end of all worldly miſeries: But to be forced to pay a tribute alſo of ſoules to his *Mahomet*, to have their deereſt children ſnatcht out of their boſomes, to be brought vp in his impious abhomination, & to be imployed in murdring them that begat them, & in rooting out of the faith, wherein they were borne & baptized, and which onely were able to bring their ſoules into happineſſe. This ſurely is a calamitie inſupportable. And which crieth out vnto God in the heavens for reliefe. How long ſhall that hatefull name of that curſed Seducer vpbraide the glorious & lovely name of our Savior? How long ſhal his falſhood inſult over our faith? how long ſhal his barbariſme oppres our civilitie, & his tyranny affront the true houſe of all lawfull government. But howlongſoever, this ſtands firme for ever, that the iudgements of God are iuſt, & directed in his ſharpeſt chaſticemēts to the benefit of the world & inſtruction of men, to vs allowed: That if thoſe people, amongſt which our Savior himſelf converſed, at what time his beutiful ſteps honoured this world, with thoſe churches which his Apoſtles ſo induſtriouſly planted, ſo carefully viſited, ſo ten-

tenderly cheriſhed, inſtructed, & cõfirmed, by ſo many peculiar Epiſtles, and for whom they ſent vp ſo many fervent praiers; yea, to whom are remaining thoſe particular letters which the ſpirit of the higheſt indited in the very heavens, and ſent downe vnto them. A forewarning of that plague which is ſince befallen them, if beſides theſe ſpiritual prerogatives and graces, the puiſſance and glory of the great empire of the world; the chriſtian empire of *Rome* being tranſlated vnto them, & ſeated in their lap, and with promiſe of perpetuitie to their preſent proſperity; ſuch then was the ſtrength therof: Notwithſtanding when they fell away frõ their firſt zeale & charities, when knowledge the right mother of humilitie) made them ſwell, when they envied each others graces, which they ought to have loved, when abõdance of all things bred wantonnes inſtead of thankfulnes. In fine, when they forgot the Author of all their bliſſe and fell to ſnarling and biting one another, inſteade of putting vp and forgiving of offences, if not for the name of Brotherhood, yet for his ſake, who was father and equall lorde of both, it pleaſed God to ſuffer a baſe thiefe and a wicked, with a traine of vagabondes (to the eternall reproach of all their wiſedome and pollicie, to advaunce himſelfe ſo by his induſtrie and their ſecuritie, and to growe to ſuch an height in his ſucceſſors and folowers, as to be a terror and amazement to al the world, and to themſelves an vnexplicable & vnſuccorable calamitie.) To ſtrip them of all thoſe graces and bleſſings vngratefulnes would not acknowledge, pride and wantonnes abuſed. And to heap on them as much miſerie, as the cruelty of a barbarous and mercileſſe tyrant can afflict, vpon ſuch as have no meanes to appeaſe him, ſave their calamitie alone, or to withſtand him, beſides their patience; then ſurely wee who come ſhort of them ſo farre in pledges of favor, and equall them in our faults. And they who have had in particular the like threatening caveats of cutting off: notwithſtanding the virtues of their honourable auncеſtors, may thinke it high time to enter into a more

ſerious cogitation of wayes, to turne all our pollicies and contentions againſt others, into an humble and ſincere examination of our ſelves, that repentaunce and amendment may prevent thoſe puniſhments which our wickedneſse have deſerved, and obſtinacie now highly do provoke.

58 It remaineth that I ſhould proceed to the churches reformed, of which there are many things alſo to be ſaide: But my length in my former (drawne on by multitude and varietie of matter ſtill freſhly preſenting it ſelfe contrary to my intention) doe cauſe me to deferre the reſt till ſome other occaſion. In the meane while doe humbly and gladly ſubmitte it ſelfe to be cenſured and controlled by thoſe of wiſedome, experience, and iudgement. For howſoever, I have waded heerein with that vprightnes of minde, which becommeth a lover and ſearcher of trueth: And have alſo to my beſt, avoyded that raſhnes and lightnes in beleefe, which they that are ſubiect vnto, ſhall ſwallow downe many a morcell, which will fill them winde inſteade of good juyce and nouriſhment: yet viewing on the other ſide in ſuch a multitude at this day, perhaps with like integritie, equall warines, more diligence, and manifoldly more means of certaine informations, have delivered either hiſtories, or other particular relations, how few there are that have not ſtumbled vpon many an errour, where they thought was nothing but plaine ground and trueth. I can not have anie affiance or preſumption of my good fortune, as to hope to be the man alone that ſhould hit trueth in all things; But rather as foreſeeing almoſt an impoſſibilitie of not often erring in matter.

FINIS.

CHRISTIANITY MAINTAINED.

OR

A Discouery of sundry Doctrines tending to the Ouerthrovve of Christian Religion:

Contayned in the Answere to a Booke entituled, Mercy and Truth, *or,* Charity maintayned by Catholiques.

Bringing into captiuity all Vnderstanding vnto the Obedience of Christ. 2. Cor. 10. 5.

What is more contrary to Fayth, then not to belieue any thing, to which Reason cannot reach? S. Bernard. Epist. 190.

Permissu Superiorum. 1638.